Columbian Universalist Congress

1893

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COLUMBIAN CONGRESS.

Universalist Profession of Faith.

Adopted 1803.

I.

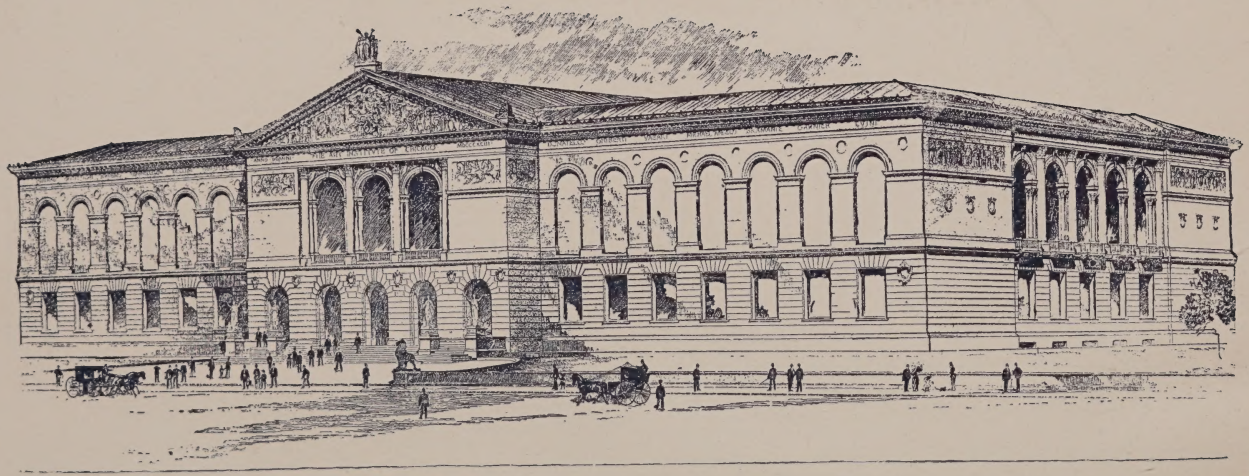
We believe that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain a revelation of the character of God, and of the duty, interest and final destination of mankind.

II.

We believe that there is one God, whose nature is Love, revealed in one Lord Jesus Christ, by one Holy Spirit of Grace, who will finally restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness.

III.

We believe that holiness and true happiness are inseparably connected, and that believers ought to be careful to maintain order, and practice good works, for these things are good and profitable unto men.



MEMORIAL ART INSTITUTE,

LAKE FRONT MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO, WHERE THE COLUMBIAN CONGRESSES WERE HELD.

THE

COLUMBIAN CONGRESS

OF THE

Universalist Church

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES AT THE CONGRESS

HELD AS A SECTION OF THE

WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY

OF THE

COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

1893

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INTRODUCTION.

THE CONGRESSES held in the Memorial Art Institute of Chicago, by the World's Congress Auxiliary of the Columbian Exposition, during the six months of the World's Fair, attracted wide attention and are generally regarded as among the proudest achievements of the Columbian celebration.

Never before in the history of the world has there been such an extended series of assemblies in the interest of the higher things of peace and civilization. The Congress Platform was for the time being the Forum of the World. The great subjects that engage human attention and by whose discussion from age to age civilization is advanced and the world moved onward, had there consideration and discussion. The program embraced a larger variety of topics than was ever before attempted in one general convocation. The great interests of Government and Jurisprudence; Commerce and Finance; Science, Literature, Art and Music; Education, Politics and the Press; Reform, Political Economy, Sociology, Ethics and Religion, with many associated topics, had ample discussion in meetings arranged for that purpose. Over 200 of these congresses were held, holding more than 1,200 sessions and addressed by nearly 6,000 speakers. Distinguished scholars of Europe, America and the Orient were represented either in person or by papers prepared especially for the occasion. It is estimated that 700,000 people attended these meetings during the six months, the Auxiliary Congress rivaling in interest and success the great Exposition itself.

Hon. CHARLES C. BONNEY, of Chicago, was the originator of the congress idea. Before any of the plans for the Columbian Exposition had taken form, he came to the front with this splendid conception, afterwards worked out in the comprehensive spirit and wise administration of himself and associates. "The crowning glory of the World's Fair of 1893," wrote Mr. Bonney in 1889, "should not be the exhibit then to be made of the material tri-

umphs, industrial achievements and mechanical victories of man, however magnificent that display may be. Something higher and nobler is demanded by the enlightened and progressive spirit of the present age." The World's Congress Auxiliary, with its working motto, "Mind, not matter; men, not things," was the result of that conclusion. The moral and intellectual exhibit thus prepared, with its contributions to the welfare of humanity, and its revelation of the progressive spirit of our modern life forging its way ahead to the intellectual victory of the world, was as remarkable in its way as the marvelous artistic and mechanical displays so splendidly housed in the palaces of the White City. Grand as the Exposition was, and nobly as it redeemed the expectations of its projectors and the hopes of the American people, it had a worthy competitor in the World's Congress Auxiliary. The Congress will always be remembered in connection with its great associate, the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.

The Religious Congresses held as a section of the Auxiliary in the month of September were perhaps the most notable of the Congresses. This is particularly true of the now famous "Parliament of Religions," which extended through seventeen days, and was undoubtedly the most impressive and unique assembly of the Nineteenth Century, if indeed it was ever paralleled in the world's history. In this Parliament convened representatives of the great historic religions which were old before Christianity was born, and whose teachings for twenty-four centuries have been received by countless millions of the human race. It was an occasion of supreme interest and certainly marked an epoch in religious history. Here men of the Orient and Occident met in friendly conclave to discuss the one paramount interest of all ages and climes—RELIGION, "not *merely*," as Dr. BARROWS well said in his introductory address, "as Baptists and Buddhists, Catholics and Confucians, Parsees and Presbyterians, Methodists and Moslems," but as "members of a Parliament of Religions over which flies no sectarian flag, which is to be stampeded by no sectarian war cries, but where for the first time in a large council, is lifted up the banner of love, friendship and brotherhood." It gave added emphasis to the significance of the gathering that this Parliament assembled under the auspices of that Christianity which recognizes the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and is thus sufficiently inclusive to clasp a world in its wide embrace.

In the same weeks with this wonderful gathering were held also the series of denominational congresses, in which each church or denomination, in its own way, set forth its peculiar principles and the distinguishing points in its doctrinal teaching and history. The papers and addresses contained in this volume were presented at the Congress of the Universalist Church, held September 13–15. The arrangements were made by a local committee whose names are elsewhere printed, appointed by the president of the Auxiliary, and with the assistance of an advisory council, whose names are are also given in the Appendix. This committee held several meetings in the autumn of 1892, when the preliminary address was issued and the program arranged and published. Alluding to the proposed Congress, the address used the following language:

"It will be a long coveted opportunity to make the world better acquainted with the genius of our faith. The best thoughts of our leading thinkers will not only be listened to on this great occasion, but will be placed in respectful comparison with those of other leading religious thinkers, and circulated throughout the world. Let us, therefore, unitedly and with characteristic thoroughness, set forth the honorable history and sublime principles to which our church is consecrated, in order that the reading and thoughtful portion of mankind may no longer be excused for ignorance regarding our aims and objects as a Christian organization, which stands second to none in the advocacy of moral and social reforms, and which is seeking to be a co-worker with all other Christian bodies in building the Kingdom of Heaven among men."

That the opportunity thus indicated was duly improved the papers presented in this volume furnish ample evidence. In solidity of thought, strength of statement and general literary merit, these Congress papers have never been excelled in any Universalist assembly, while in number they are largely in excess of any previous presentation. With three or four exceptions the program was carried out as originally arranged. The sessions of the Congress were held in Hall XXXIII of the Art Institute, beginning on Tuesday morning, September 12, and closing with the exercises of Friday, in the Hall of Washington, set apart as "Presentation Day." On that occasion and before a larger audience, the presentation of the Universalist Church was made by eminent clergymen. Early in the proceedings of the Congress in the Hall of Washington, President Bonney and a delegation of distinguished visitors of the Parliament, including some of the foreign representatives, appeared and were escorted to the platform. Mr. Bonney presented them to the audience, introducing each one. Among the visitors were Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant,

of London, and Mr. Theodore F. Seward, of New York, representing the Brotherhood of Christian Unity. Mrs. Chant responded to a call from the audience, and made a charming address, instinct with the spirit of Universalism. Dr. Miner responded from the floor to the words of Mr. Bonney in presenting the delegation. It was a very pleasant incident of the Congress.

It is also proper to remark that the proceedings of the Congress were introduced by an informal conference held on Monday afternoon, September 13, in Hall XXXIII, at which the chairman of the local committee presided, and brief addresses were made by Mr. F. A. Winkelman, president of the Illinois Universalist Convention, Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, of New York, Rev. Amos Crum, D. D., of Iowa, Rev. R. A. White, and several others. Rev. Augusta J. Chapin, D. D., offered at this conference a few appropriate words of cordial welcome to visitors and friends. On Friday evening a reception was also held in the same place, when the visitors of the Congress were personally welcomed by a committee of the Chicago Universalist churches, and a pleasant social hour enjoyed.

In arranging the papers of the Congress in book form, it has been thought best to follow the logical sequence of the topics as far as possible and not the order in which the papers were delivered. Thus I–IV, relate to general definitions of Universalism as a system of truth; V, VI, deal with the Philosophy of Universalism; VII, presents Universalism as the Doctrine of the Scriptures; VIII, IX, discuss what may be styled the Universalism of Nature; X, XI, present Universalism in its historical aspects; XII–XV, exhibit Universalism in its relation to important phases of modern religious thought; XVI–XXI, outline the organizations of the church, and XXII–XXV, are devoted to discussions of Universalism in its bearings on modern social problems. The volume will thus be recognized as an orderly and somewhat systematic presention of the general religious teachings, history and government of the Universalist Church, with a statement of the definite purposes, and the hopes and ambitions that animate the denomination as an organized body in these closing years of the Nineteenth Century.

We may add that the editor of the volume has taken the liberty to include in the Appendix the addresses delivered before the Parliament of Religions, by H. N. HIGINBOTHAM, president of the World's Columbian Exposition, and Rev. AUGUSTA J. CHAPIN, D.D.,

chairman of the General Woman's Committee of the Auxiliary. It is thought that these addresses are apppropriate in the volume, although not properly a part of the Universalist Congress, inasmuch as Mr. Higinbotham and Miss Chapin are of the Universalist household of faith, and their distinguished services in the Parliament were an honor to our church. The volume is now offered to the public in the confident belief that it will be warmly welcomed by our people and prove useful in promoting a knowledge of the fundamental principles and beliefs of the Universalist Church as represented in the COLUMBIAN CONGRESS of 1893.

CHICAGO, Nov. 10.

UNIVERSALIST CONGRESS.

I.

UNIVERSALISM A SYSTEM

And Not a Single Dogma.

BY STEPHEN CRANE, D. D.

EVERY system of theology has one basal idea, one central and fundamental principle, that gives unity and consistency to the whole system. Every doctrine is based upon and framed into right relations with this all controlling principle.

The basal idea of Universalism is the love of God. It postulates an infinite, active benevolence as the foundation of all. It puts a boundless love at the heart of things, and with this love it makes all things harmonize, and in the light of it seeks to interpret all things. It conceives of this love, not as a mere sentiment, but as a principle of action. It holds that by it God is always moved and absolutely controlled. All he does, he is moved to do by this love. Not an act of

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his springs from any other motive, not an act of his is governed by any other principle.

The holiness of God is not denied, but that holiness is predicated of love, and not love of holiness. God is holy because he is love; he is not love because he is holy. A being whose goodness is not infinite and all-controlling cannot be absolutely holy. Love is the great fountain of holiness and "the stream can never rise higher than the fountain." Holiness is begotten of love, and the child never does and never can demand anything that is not in the heart of the father to grant.

Postulating love, then, as the source and fountain of all, Universalism proceeds to relate the universe thereto. It conceives of the physical universe as the expression of this love. It is the visible outflow of infinite goodness. Love must act, therefore God loved the worlds into being that he might realize his own glory in the glory of his worlds. The "vortex rings" of matter are but the pulsations of Infinite Love. Suns and systems float in the ether of Infinite Goodness. They spring from the ocean of love and ride on her bosom. Nature is love in external, visible activity. She is the World's Fair machinery moved by the heart beats of the Eternal. Her forces are but the waves of his energy. Her laws are but the *ways* of his spirit. They are ordained and energized that they may be the channels of his love. What to us is deformity is only "beauty in the making," or spots on our glasses, which shut from our vision the high and holy ends that are being served.

Nature has moral significance and exists for moral ends, for love can never rest in material grandeur, however great, as an end. Love is moral and must have moral ends; hence nature is moral, not in the sense that

she distinguishes between right and wrong, but in the sense that she exists as the theater for the activity of moral beings.

Hence the *moral world*, which the little segment we see, is in essence the type and in condition the beginnings. God created man in his own image in order to satisfy his own love. As a moral principle love can love only moral beings. Hence God "loved us into being" that he might have children to love. But he would have these children return that love, hence he made them like himself, capable of loving. But to love, children, created beings, must be educated in love. Hence the moral world as we see it, a world in which the children of God are learning to love Him supremely and "our neighbor as ourselves."

All finite souls are the offspring of the one Infinite Soul. God is the Father, all souls are his children. He is the Father of "the spirits of all flesh." "In Him we all live and move and have our being." These souls or spirits with God constitute the inward, spiritual world. They form the Father's family—a family of souls not of bodies.

This world is not conditioned in time or space but belongs to eternity. All souls, from the fact that they are souls and not bodies, belong to the inward, the spiritual, the unseen universe. Death has no dominion over them. They never die, for "All live unto God." Death is of the body not of the spirit. It is outward and external and belongs to the world of form not of substance, of matter not of mind Hence it is no crisis in the life of the spirit. It is no turning point in the soul's career. It does not fix its destiny for good or ill. In and of itself it has no moral quality, whatever may be its moral significance, whatever may be the

moral possibilities opened thereby. It is entirely outside of the soul's life. The body dies, not the soul. Death is not in the world where the soul lives, therefore it cannot interfere with the soul's activities, stop its progress, prevent its reformation, or fix its destiny.

Excluding death therefore from the world of the spirit, all souls are seen to be members of God's spiritual family and with him to constitute the spiritual world. He is the father of all and all are his children. Hence all are related, each to all and all to each. By virtue of a common parentage, all are members of one family and sustain to each other the relation of brothers. So we have the universal Fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man. God is related to every soul as a father, every soul is related to God as a child, and to every other soul as a brother.

Upon these relations is based the moral government of God All moral responsibility and obligation grow out of these relations. From the fact that a soul is a child of God, it is morally bound to love and obey God. From the fact that it is one of a family of souls, it is morally bound to love and do good to every member of this family. And from the fact that God has "loved all these souls into being," he has put himself under the most solemn obligation to govern them all on the principle of paternal love and secure for them all the highest possible good.

Thus does Universalism conceive of the spiritual world. Thus does it conceive of the great world of mankind in its own inward constitution and relations and in its relation to God and his government. Thus conceiving, it proceeds to interpret the facts, unfold the laws and affirm the destiny of this world. It recognizes the fact of sin, not merely of human imperfection,

but of human transgression and has no occasion to minimize that fact; it would realize it in all its sad and sorrowful import. Still it does not see that this fact impeaches the character of God or renders hopeless the destiny of man.

All moral beings must choose the good for themselves before they can be good. God constantly chooses the good, therefore he is always good. A created being must constantly choose the good before he can be always good. It is conceivable that such a being might be so constituted as to choose the good instinctively and perpetually, and so never fall into sin, but man was not so constituted. Man was created innocent and with all the possibilities of a righteous choice, but with no instinct compelling that choice. Hence that choice must be a matter of education. His will must be educated to choose the right always and everywhere. But in obtaining this education he will often choose the wrong. So we have what the world presents, the sad fact of the world's sin, all resulting from the wrong choice of man, from the wrong choosings of mankind.

This sin, therefore, is no impeachment of the character of God. It is directly attributable to the wrong choice of man. In being educated into a perpetual righteous choice, man often makes an unrighteous one, and from these unrighteous choices results all the world's sin. If it is desirable, therefore, to have a moral world such as human souls create, then it was good in God to create such a world notwithstanding it involved the possibility of sin, and the fact of sin in no way impeaches the goodness of God.

But further, this fact does not render hopeless the destiny of man. If man has chosen the wrong, he can also choose the right. The capability of a right choice

is involved in the fact of a wrong choice. But the wrong choice is conceded, man has chosen wrong, therefore he can choose the right. But further, man has chosen the right sometimes, many times, therefore he can be induced to choose the right all the time. Still further, some, yea many, it is conceded, will be induced to so choose, therefore all can be. Human sin, therefore, does not render human destiny hopeless. A perfect destiny for man is possible notwithstanding the sin of man. The possibility of human perfection is grounded in human nature. Because man can choose the right, therefore he can be so educated and trained as to choose the right always and everywhere. That sin can destroy the constitution of the soul, is not to be admitted. Such an admission would involve the possibility of destroying the soul itself. The annihilation of the soul is involved in any doctrine that teaches the destruction of any of the constitutional powers of the soul. If sin can so paralyze the will as to render a righteous choice impossible, then it can destroy the soul, and there is nothing more to be said about it. A human soul that cannot make a righteous choice ceases to be human and becomes a nondescript, something of which we have no knowledge and concerning which we can have no rational thought. It falls out of the category of moral being, ceases to be accountable to moral laws and is no longer in the realm of moral consideration.

No more can sin destroy the relation of the soul to God, or of God to the soul. The sinful soul is still a child of God, and God is its father. Were this not so, did sin destroy this relation, then all moral responsibility would be gone and the moral government of God cease to be. This government rests upon this relation. God claims our love and obedience because he

is "our Father" and we are under obligations to love and obey him because we are his children. If sin, therefore, destroyed this relation, God would have no claim upon our obedience and we would be under no obligation to obey. These profound spiritual relations of God to man and man to God and man to man remain the same notwithstanding human sin.

Recognizing these great fundamental truths, seeing in the nature of man an unlimited possibility of salvation, and in the nature of God "the promise and potency" of salvation, Universalism proceeds to unfold the process of salvation and to affirm the ultimate success of that process. It sees that all the dealings of God with man are ordered to one end, the creating of a perpetual righteous choice in every soul, the so educating and training of every human will that it shall choose the right always and everywhere.

There is many a suggestion of righteousness in the outer world. The house we live in favors holiness. The love of the beautiful is akin to the love of goodness. The flower throws its benediction on the side of well-doing and the grandeur of ocean and mountain scenery tends to create reverence for the moral order of the world. The development of the right and wrong choice in social conditions powerfully sanctions the one and rebukes the other. Righteousness working itself out in beneficent social relations, moves men to choose righteousness, and wickedness, working itself out in social discomfort and wretchedness, warns men against choosing unrighteousness. There is "an incipient gospel in nature," and the spelling book of morals is printed in the social conditions which man creates for his social environment.

But the outer world presents a foil for sin. It says:

"Thus far and no farther." Great wickedness tends to self-destruction. Wicked cities are destroyed, corrupt nations perish. Besides, the body checks the wickedness of the soul. It not only objectifies, and so puts before the eyes of all the unholy fires that burn within, but it soon refuses to feed those fires. The choice of evil passion is soon rebuked by the impossibility of gratification. The limitations of the flesh block the way of sinful indulgence. Sleep stops many an unholy impulse and clears the vision to see the iniquity in many an alluring temptation.

Finally death gives freedom to many a flesh-bound soul. What would a man rotten with appetite and passion become if he could not die? How pitiable and revolting is the figure of an aged libertine and sensualist! Nature opens the grave for these bodies that their souls may have the opportunities of another life Death gives no moral strength or purity, but it gives freedom to moral weakness. It breaks the chain that binds the sinful soul to a corrupt body. Like all the orderings of God, therefore, death is on the side of the righteous and not of the unrighteous choice.

So all nature, man's whole external environment, while not directly teaching morals, is full of moral suggestions. It is the picture book of ethics, the sign language of righteousness. What it teaches is on the side of goodness, the way it would have us go is the way of holiness. It is the primer of morals, the primary school of the righteous choice, but the high school wherein this choice is educated even unto perfection, is the world within, is the spiritual universe.

In the soul itself and in every soul is the school of its own moral education and perfection. In here where every soul is intimately related to every other and to

God, is wrought out the redemption of that soul in its education into the constant and everlasting choice of righteousness. Every soul is a child of God and bound to him by the closest relations. God is its Father and all the laws of its being were ordained of God and are energized and enforced by his paternal love. Every soul, therefore, is in constant touch with the great Soul of the universe God constantly breathes out the force that operates all the laws of our being. These laws are not automatic, they are operated by the infinite love of God.

Love is the divine principle that seeks the highest good of the beings loved. Hence when these laws are obeyed, love energizes them for blessing; when they are disobeyed love energizes them for punishment. Justice is the attitude and action of love toward the sinful, mercy the attitude and action of love toward the penitent. When we sin love comes to us in the form of justice and punishes us that we may repent and sin no more, and when we repent it comes to us in the form of mercy and forgives us our transgression. It never "spares the rod and spoils the child," nor turns a deaf ear to the cry of mercy. With an eye single to the highest good of his children God, moved by his paternal love, rewards and punishes, chastens and forgives just as their condition demands. Justice and mercy are fruits that ripen on the same tree. There is no conflict between them, but always perfect agreement, since they are but different expressions of the same great principle of love.

Such is the government of God. It is a paternal government resting upon and growing out of the relations of God to man and man to God. It is administered by paternal love, and has for its object the secur-

ing of a perpetual righteous choice in every soul. It is in harmony with the way of God in nature, for it is ordained to the same end and governed by the same principle.

But Universalism is not a system of "Naturalism." It has room and a place for Christianity. It recognizes the work and mission of Christ. It does not, however, see in his mission any effort to change the character of God or reverse the moral order of the world. Christianity is not a reconstruction, but a *revelation* of what is. It shows us the Father; it does not change the character of the Father. The divine character today is no different from what it was before Christ came. The same great love that fills the Father's heart now, filled it then. God "out of Christ" is the same as God in Christ. Christ did not come to create the love of God, but to reveal it. We see in him but a higher manifestation of the same spirit that we see in nature, in human history and in the human soul The goodness of God as seen in nature becomes his "saving grace" as seen in Jesus Christ. God "in Christ" is "reconciling the world unto himself." It was not to put God into harmony with the world, but the world into harmony with God that Christ came. No more did Christ come to change the constitution of man or the moral government of the world. His regeneration is not a reconstruction of human nature. It is not a rebirth but a higher birth, "a birth from above." It calls into life what is, it does not create something that is not.

Neither does Christianity change the moral government of God. The principles of that government now are just what they always have been. Christ does not change them, he reveals them. He does not create the

"kingdom of God within;" he unfolds and sets that kingdom in order. He raises the primary school of righteousness already in the soul into the high school, but he does not reverse or change the order. What God is doing out of Christ is only done more completely and perfectly in Christ. Insomuch, therefore, as Christianity is a revelation, it is not in opposition to anything that God is or has done or is doing. The character and government of God and the nature of man are the same in Christ as out of Christ. The love of God in Christ is but the larger and richer unfolding of the love of God in nature, in providence, and in the human soul.

But insomuch as Christianity is a new spiritual or moral force in the world, it is not in opposition to any such force already in the world. It does not seek to reverse the natural order of things. It is supernatural but not "unnatural." It does not oppose nature; it adds itself to nature. The only thing it opposes is sin, and this because sin is unnatural The sinner is out of and not in the natural order, therefore Christianity opposes him and seeks to bring him back into the natural order. But with all else it is in harmony It adds itself to every force of righteousness in the world. There is nothing good that Jesus does not fellowship. To what God has done in nature, in history, in the human soul, and to what of good man has done, he extends the most cordial hospitality. Not to turn back the stream of human history did Christ come, but to carry that stream forward to completion and perfection. In the divine purpose of salvation, Jesus was "slain from the foundation of the world" that he might realize that purpose in every human soul.

It will be seen, therefore, that Universalism is a sys-

tem; not an isolated doctrine, but a whole body of divinity. Its doctrine of destiny is logically related to all its other doctrines and is the rational outcome of the whole system. Let the system be as it is and no other doctrine of destiny is possible. The ultimate holiness and happiness of man is the only possible result of the postulates involved in the system.

Its doctrine of destiny is involved in its doctrine of deity. Given the one and the other inevitably follows. Given a God of infinite love and man, as the offspring of that love, must eventually come into a state of perfect love. Love can wait, but love cannot be eternally balked of its object. Love can punish, but love cannot punish forever without object or end. Love can punish for righteousness and until righteousness is secured; hence righteousness is the end sought, and must eventually be obtained. So universal salvation results from the Universalist doctrine of God. Its doctrine of deity necessitates its doctrine of destiny.

The same is true of its doctrine of man. Its anthropology no less than its theology necessitates its doctrine of destiny. Given a man created in the image of God and preserving forever the freedom involved in the possession of that image and placed under a government that rewards the use and punishes the abuse of that freedom, and universal salvation is the result. Of such a man so placed nothing can be logically predicated as an end, save a continuous righteous choice. Such a will, so situated, must eventually learn to choose righteousness always and everywhere, and so come into continuous and unbroken harmony with the will of God. Such a man must ultimately "work out his own salvation"

Further, the brotherhood of man demands one final

home for humanity. A brotherhood in origin necessitates a brotherhood in destiny. If all souls are of "one blood," then all souls must come to one goal.

Still further, the Universalist doctrine of destiny is involved in its doctrine of life. Life, all life, is a school ordained of God for the education of man into holiness. Such a school cannot fail of its purpose. A divinely ordained school must work out its divinely ordained purpose. To predicate failure of such a school is to impeach the wisdom or power of the Infinite Teacher and Master.

Finally the Universalist doctrine of Christ necessitates its doctrine of destiny. Its eschatology is involved in its Christology. Given Jesus as the sent of God and Saviour of the world and the world must be saved. If "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself," then the world must be reconciled. Such a Saviour can "see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied" only in the salvation of every soul. So "all roads lead to Rome." Take any one of these postulates and the logical result is universal salvation. They all lead to the same goal.

Universalism, therefore, is a system. It is a logical structure of related ideas. Its architecture is symmetrical and complete. Its foundation is laid deep in the love of God, and its dome pierces the heavens in the glory of universal redemption. This love unifies all of its parts, and binds them into a harmonious whole. God, man and Christ are a trinity of forces working to the one goal. Love gives a holy purpose to God, unlimited freedom and possibility to man, a divine unity to humanity, a boundless purpose and limitless energy of salvation to Christ, and so one holy and happy destiny for mankind.

Presentation Day, Hall of Washington, Sept. 15.

II.

PUNISHMENT DISCIPLINARY:

The Atonement Reconciliation. Life a School.

BY PRESIDENT ELMER H. CAPEN, D. D.

THE idea of punishment as attached to sin is native to the human mind. There are no races in which the idea is not present. Men commit sin, at least in its graver forms, in fear and trembling, and when it is committed, they seek escape from the punishment that impends. Of course the notion varies with the development of the people; with the habits they have adopted and the education they have received. Among the Romans, punishment was viewed almost wholly in its legal aspects, as the penalty due to violated law. The thought of a large part of Christendom on this subject, as upon many others, has a Roman root. Augustinianism, of which Calvinism is but a modification, took its shape and color in a civilization in which fighting and administration were almost the only functions of thoughtful men. Theology could hardly help being both bloody and austere under those conditions. Rome was dignified and cruel. She punished her enemies for

two reasons, first, to vindicate her honor, and, secondly, to gratify her hatred. Strangely enough the theology of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches has exactly copied this thought of a great pagan nation. God punishes his erring and sinful children, first, to vindicate his offended majesty, and, secondly, to execute wrath and vengeance upon them.

Under such a system all sense of proportion is lost. There are no gradations of parts, no adaptations of means to ends, no checks and balances and no recognition of equivalents. Everything is as rigid and inflexible as fate, in that form of stoic philosophy on which the Romans sought to base their theory of law.

From this view of punishment Universalism distinctly revolts. It asserts with all the emphasis it can command that punishment is neither vindicative nor revengeful. It is inflicted on account neither of the injured innocence nor the anger of God. It has its place in a great plan which contemplates not the destruction but the perfection of humanity. For the interpretation of punishment the Universalist reverts to his primary conception of the moral Universe. Here, as fundamental and controlling in all theological conceptions, are the two facts of the divine Fatherhood of God and the divine Sonship of humanity. The moral universe is viewed in the form of a spiritual household —one family on earth and in heaven. God is the father. Man is the child. But one motive is possible in this holy relation. That motive is love. The aim of punishment is two-fold. It is first corrective, designed to cause the sinner to halt and turn about in the way he is going. It is also stimulative, seeking to create a new purpose and lead to repentance, so causing the sinner, not only to abandon his sin, but to enter

humbly, cheerfully and affectionately into the service of God.

Under this view we perceive that punishment is simply one of those elements of discipline and training by which manhood is developed and the soul transformed into the likeness of God. "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth."

This truth is so simple that it scarcely needs illustration. Still it may be profitable to consider on what principle punishment is imposed in a well regulated Christian household. Why does the mother punish her child? Certainly not in hatred or anger. With one consent the enlightened people of every Christian nation will say that the mother who so punishes is not fit to be entrusted with the government of children. She punishes rather in love for the child's good; to remind him that the way of violated law is a hard way, and that he cannot find peace and happiness in it; but above all to keep his face towards the right until that becomes the one prevailing and dominant object to which all his efforts tend.

The wise parent does not overlook any transgression. Particular care is taken that the child shall understand that evil cannot be done with impunity under any circumstances. In this the best human government is but a pattern of the divine. In the economy of God, sin and punishment are inseparable. Punishment follows sin as certainly as light follows the rising sun. No matter in what secrecy iniquity is committed it will declare itself in the stricken conscience and apply the corrective smart. No combination of circumstances can avert the just penalty of broken law. So long as sin continues, punishment will be applied, and there is no

escape. "Though hand join in hand the wicked shall not be unpunished." They are like the troubled sea which perpetually casts up mire and dirt. "There is no peace to the wicked, saith my God." This is the doctrine which the Universalist Church has proclaimed steadfastly from its very inception.

In this view of punishment we have the key to the Universalist doctrine of the atonement, or rather to its interpretation of that form of teaching which the Christian Church has called the atonement. The founders of the Universalist Church were the pioneers in what is now known as the moral view of the atonement. They began their work by discarding altogether the old legal notions of sin and punishment that had so long prevailed. By regarding the natural operations of the soul they found a natural place for the mediatorial work of Jesus Christ. Hosea Ballou, in his preface to "A Treatise on Atonement," used this significant language: "That sin is infinite, and that it deserves an infinite punishment; that the law transgressed is infinite, and inflicts an infinite penalty; and that the great Jehovah took on himself a natural body of flesh and blood, and actually suffered death on a cross, to satisfy his infinite justice, and thereby save his creatures from endless misery, are ideas which appear to me to be unfounded in the nature of reason and unsupported by divine revelation. Such notions have, in my opinion, served to darken the human understanding and obscure the gospel of eternal life; and have rendered, what I esteem as divine revelation, a subject of discredit to thousands who would never have condemned the scriptures had it not have been for those gross absurdities."

The Universalist has simply returned to the position

of the primitive church. He asks what did the founders of our religion understand the atonement to be? Looking carefully at their language he feels that they were persuaded it was setting things right, bringing humanity and God together. In a word atonement and reconciliation are the same. Sin is alienation from God. Joseph Cook puts it, sin is "hating what God loves, and loving what God hates." St. Paul says, "the carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." In other words, there is an impassable gulf between righteousness and sin. The sinner, therefore, so long as he continues in sin, is on the other side of that gulf. The aim of the gospel is to take away sin and so remove the alienation. The object it proposes is to restore men to their natural and normal relations with God, and put them on the side of his righteousness.

This then opens the door to a clear perception of the functions of Jesus Christ.

First of all he appears as the mediator between God and men. The human race was astray, lost in the mazes of iniquity, and it needed someone to take it by the hand and lead it back to home and heaven. God likewise, on account of this alienation of humanity, needed an open highway to the heart and life of the world, or, if you please, a bridge over the vast gulf that yawned between a sinful world and his own holiness. Hence the advent of Jesus. How beautiful are the many passages of the New Testament which describe this phase of his mission. Thou shall call his name Jesus for he shall save his people from their sins. He hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and the recovering of sight

to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory. To accomplish this beneficent work he comes in the guise and nature of our humanity. He is one of us, and as an elder brother leads towards the household of God. But in like manner he is the representative of his Father. He is without sin. He is not only in perfect subjection to the law of righteousness, but he unfolds, expounds and applies that law. He is all-powerful. The elements obey his command. With a word he bids disease and pain be gone. He calls the dead from their graves. He even brings the angels of God to his side. All power in heaven and on earth was given to him. Well might it be said that he was the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person. In him, therefore, the gulf vanished. He was the open highway over which God could come to humanity and make his abode with them. He was the tender and reconciling friend, taking men by the hand and leading them into the presence of a just and merciful Father

But it may be asked, is there no place for the sacrificial element of which the scriptures make much? Certainly. But the sacrifice is natural and not artifical. No proper interpretation of the scriptures gives warrant to the idea that God demands a victim, as the poor benighted African mother thinks, who casts her babe to the crocodiles. Neither does infinite justice demand a certain quantity of penalty, no matter by whom suffered. How then did Jesus bear our sins? How did he suffer, as the scriptures say, "the just for the unjust?" The principle of sacrifice is ingrained in the human soul. Men feel called upon in their better moods

to make sacrifices for the sake of others. We are so made that we applaud the spirit of sacrifice wherever we see it manifested. But the whole merit of it lies in its voluntariness. If service is grudgingly rendered, more than half its charm is gone. A child cries aloud in the night. The servant, in whose care it is left, drags herself reluctantly and wearily to answer the call. But the mother springs to her feet and is at the bedside of the child before her eyes are open.

The scriptures represent Jesus as taking on, of his own choice, our nature; as coming to us eagerly out of his great love and tender compassion that he might lift up and save. The ethical element is the dominant one, and it is this that gives to it its highest merit. The substitutionary notion of punishment, as commonly conceived, has no place in the gospel scheme. Neither has the doctrine of the transfer of merit from Jesus to humanity. There is, to be sure, the carrying of burdens for others, the suffering for the sake of, and sometimes, perhaps, in a sense, instead of others. But this is according to analogies that are common. How often do we see the father taking up burdens for the son, not merely that he may relieve the back of the son from bearing them and make the way of life smoother and easier, but that he may give encouragement to him and rouse and strengthen his filial affection. How often, too, if the son is wayward and perverse, is the father compelled in seeking his recovery, to experience the shame, the humiliation, the degradation and heart-ache which the son's iniquity carries with it, and to which, perhaps, his own callous heart is a stranger. But the father's work is voluntary He is impelled to it by a love that will not let him rest, however weary. So it is in the gospel teaching of the sacrifice by which the world is

saved. God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son to the end that all who believe in him might not perish but have everlasting life. God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Christ was so filled with affection for mankind that he could not abide in his Father's house, but became obedient unto death for our sake. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. In this way God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself.

Nor should it be forgotten that the Universalist, in his interpretation of the gospel doctrine of the atonement, makes much of the exemplary features of Christ's work. In nothing, perhaps, are we more influenced than by example. The son does what he sees his father do, the daughter repeats what she observes in her mother's conduct. The habit follows us from childhood to the laying down altogether of the burdens of life. What spell so potent, even in old age, as the remembrance of father and mother. In the broader fields of the world's work, all hearts are quickened by recalling what has been done by the heroes and servants of mankind. The poor soldier who, on the field of Gettysburg, crawled behind a fence to die, was undoubtedly comforted in his last moments by the recollection of the heroic sacrifices made for his sake at Lexington and Bunker Hill. The man who champions the cause of truth and righteousness, defying the opposition and obloquy of the world, is made invincible when he thinks of the martyrs of truth and righteousness in every age.

It is not too much to affirm that Christianity is, in this respect, unique. It does not rely wholly upon dogma. Philosophy contents itself with proclaiming the truth. It is left entirely to men's choice whether

they will accept it or not. Often times, too, when the intellect is convinced the will is unmoved. Hence many of the great teachers of antiquity, men who devised great systems that still have a place in our schools, lived in open disregard of the doctrines which they conceived to be essential to the best life of the world.

It was not so with Jesus. He said: "By their fruits ye shall know them." He recognized the great principle of the true life when he declared, "the Son can do nothing of himself but what he seeth the Father do." In like manner, men were to be guided by the example of the Son. He first of all brought his own life into subjection to the law he prescribed for others. He practiced what he taught. "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I have commanded you." But that there might be no mistake as to the nature and import of the commandment he gave a living illustration of it, so that men in every time of doubt and uncertainly can test the quality of their own performances by applying to them the standards which his conduct has established. This is the great appeal. In seeking the reconciliation of the world to God reference is constantly made to the unblemished example, the spotless perfection of Jesus Christ.

These views of the nature and object of punishment, and of the function of Jesus as the healer and reconciler of humanity, lead the Universalist to take a somewhat different view of life from that long held in the Christian Church. The old belief was that the supreme business of man in this world is to escape the pangs of hell, and secure the bliss of heaven. This was thought to be salvation according to the gospel scheme. But with the broader conception of the nature of sin and its

place in the economy of the spiritual universe, and with the profounder knowledge of the constitution of man and the rank he holds in the affection of God, the chief functions of humanity have assumed a nobler and more dignified character. It is now seen that the thing which should command the most serious and diligent efforts of the human soul is its own development and growth along the line of the possibilities that God has given to it. The varied experiences of life, therefore, are not only disciplinary but educational. The faculties of mind, heart and spirit are for enlightenment, and the world is full of light. Everything we see, everything we feel or do, if regarded in the right spirit, will help to illumine the soul and strengthen it, thus enabling it to walk surely and uprightly. In other words, the Universalist rejects the notion of probation as that term is commonly understood, either first or second. He does not believe that man is on trial here for his life in another world. He does not find this notion supported either by the holy scriptures or the constitution of the human soul.

The Universalist doctrine on this subject is established mainly by two important facts. First—The one chief object of life is the attainment of character. There is no real salvation apart from that. The Universalist does not dispute the new birth. He believes in it most heartily. A man may in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, turn about in the course he is pursuing and set his face toward righteousness and heaven. He may be swept by some great wave of passion, he may be smitten by the power of a great appeal, but notwithstanding that, before he can be regarded as safe in the choice he has made, he must make demonstration of his ability to "continue in the grace of God."

Secondly—The Universalist believes in the continuity of life. Immortality is now as well as hereafter. Even the resurrection according to gospel teaching does not depend upon the article of death. "I am the resurrection and the life," said Jesus. "He that believeth in me though he were dead, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." The great anastasis of the soul may come now as well as hereafter. "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above." Keeping these facts in mind it is not difficult to see, indeed, the conclusion is inevitable, that life is a school and not a probation. We are here for instruction, for discipline and for development. Life is continuous. Death finds the soul to be just what life has made it. We enter upon the life that lies beyond the grave, in the nature of things it cannot be otherwise, with the character we have made for ourselves here.

Of course there are tests. Men are put to the proof again and again all the way along life's journey. Their fitness for many exigencies is determined by the trials to which they are subjected. But no trial is final. If the soul will, it may repeat its efforts over and over until at length it attains. Indeed, this is the hope that is held out to it, that after devious flights and repeated efforts it "shall arrive" at last at the goal of the Father's love. Neither is there denial to be made of the force of circumstances upon the shape and color which the soul takes on. The life of the pagan savage cannot yield the fruit of the life of the civilized Christian. The life of a child, born in the slums, compelled to breathe from its birth the poisonous atmosphere of iniquity, though it may resist temptation and even acquire a heavenly beauty, cannot be what it would have been

under more favorable surroundings. Hence it is not wise to lay too much stress on the present attainment. We cannot tell what effects will be wrought in the transformation of the soul by its transference from earthly conditions, with their temptations, hindrances, limitations and obscurities, to conditions which we are wont to call heavenly, with all the light and glory by which, in our own optimistic moods, we believe them to be attended. We turn with confidence and comfort to the almost unmistakable intimations of the Christian Scriptures that the new life of the soul in the new realm that lies beyond the grave, will be attended by a great gain in all the higher qualities of spiritual power for which we never cease to long with a great longing. We rise out of every deep of humiliation and despondency, by recalling, that here we see through a glass darkly, but there we shall see face to face; that now we know in part, but then we shall know even as we are known; that now we are the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is. This is the Universalist's great hope, his profound and indubitable conviction, that every experience of human life, whether in time or eternity, will be somehow inwrought into the mysterious fabric of the soul's achievement until its perfection shall be secured. He unfalteringly expects, through chastening, suffering, sacrifice, illustrative example, and holy teachings, for himself and all mankind, the attainment of the perfected and ideal manhood, and he awaits, with serene and lofty courage, the

> "One far-off divine event,
> To which the whole creation moves."

Read in Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 12.

III.

DIVINE OMNIPOTENCE AND HUMAN FREE AGENCY

In the Problem of Salvation.

BY CHARLES ELLWOOD NASH, D. D.

IT is a singular phase of the mutations of theology that the defense of the divine attributes against the prepossessions and compromises of Orthodox theory should fall to those who have been persistently stigmatized as heretics and infidels. Universalism asks no more for the foundations of its argument than the common Christian creed affirms. It holds to the logic of the premises which is evaded in the popular conclusions. How this is may be seen in the examination which follows of the relation of the divine omnipotence to human freedom in the problem of salvation.

Omnipotence is a term of infinity, denoting the maximum of possible power concentrated in a single seat of control. It admits of limitation only by the nature of the subject which wields it, and by the nature of things, in so far as the nature of things is immutable. It does not in itself imply monopoly of force, but

rather the contrary, since absolute dominance cannot be predicated where there is no resistance. Much less is it to be taken as equivalent to the sum of all existing forces, for, first, these are not infinite (except upon the assumption that they include an infinite member), and, secondly, the philosophic concept does not involve the reality of what it posits as an hypothesis. In a word, we have here a working symbol employed in metaphysical reasoning to mark the *ne plus ultra*, not of *conceivability*, which is finite as the conceiving mind is finite, nor of *reality*, which *may* be finite, but of *possibility*, which is infinite.

Whether actual omnipotence, thus defined, exists in the universe can be known, it would seem, only by Revelation. Natural Theology, following in the track and building upon the results of Natural Science, cannot attain to it, for the cosmos whence it draws its materials appears, in so far, at least, as it can be inductively explored, a limited and dependent thing, for whose creation or direction something less than true omnipotence would be adequate. Nor can Philosophy certify it, except as a necessary attribute of the Perfect or the Absolute, whose existence itself needs verification. Christian opinion, however, is unanimous in affirming the fact as unmistakably given in the Scriptures, the "final rule of faith," so that the doctrine of the veritable omnipotence of God is held in common by all the sects as a primary postulate of Christian theism. That the plenary significance of this doctrine is nevertheless but scantily appreciated in the popular type of thinking will, perhaps, become patent in the progress of this paper.

The Universalist conception of the divine omnipotence is peculiar only in its radical and realistic fulness.

Its interpretation of the attribute is no more capacious than is involved in the conventional statements of Orthodoxy; but it does not afterwards shrink from the logic of the interpretation, nor find it necessary to compromise the attribute in a mistaken effort to harmonize it with other functions of the divine being. Admitting the so-called "limitation" of its exercise by the constitution of the divine nature, and of the nature of things, it refuses to regard this as limitation in any proper sense, since it is rather the condition of its activity, the medium through which or the material upon which it operates. It even sees in the alleged restraint new justification of its own large hopes for man.

Consider these limitations, what they are.

I. Of the Nature of Things. Much that must be said in a full discussion of the relation of omnipotence to the nature of things would be irrelevant to the purpose of this paper. Let it be only remarked, then, in passing, that even infinite power must, apparently, conform to the primal categories, especially of time and space. Time, which is succession, and space, which is extension, seem as old and as inevitable as eternity itself. Thus, to allude to certain smart conundrums, God could not assuredly make "a year-old shoat in a minute," nor "two hills without a vale between." Such problems annihilate themselves by self-contradiction.

On the other hand, those who argue for the eternity of matter, coeval with God, on the ground that, since *ex nihilo nihil fit*, substance cannot be created, will not feel this duality of existence to be any real restriction upon omnipotence, which is allowed, as the active factor, to have entire control of the passive material of creation in its motions, localities, and combinations: especially since the now known sixty-four chemical simples

(not to suggest the possibility of many more unknown) with their different affinities, atomic weights, and properties, afford practically unlimited opportunity for variety in creation through their possible combinations, distributions, orbits, and velocities. But this eternal dualty the theist does not yet feel obliged to concede.

It is more to our purpose to observe that omnipotence cannot contravene the essential data of reasoning, for example the mathematical axioms. Omnipotence is as helpless as its weakest creature before the necessary truth that "a straight line is the shortest distance between two points," or, that "the whole is greater than a part." John Stuart Mill has, indeed, lent the weight of a reputation for courageous acuteness to the logical heresy that "there may be a world in which two and two make five." But this can only be true where a part is equal to the whole, or where the sum of the angles of a triangle is not equal to two right-angles. The statement is simply self-nugatory and impossible.

To the same effect is the observation that omnipotence cannot cause a thing both to be and not be at the same time; in other words, cannot make contradictions identical. For instance, it cannot itself be omnipotent and yet in any sense subordinate, cannot be primary and at the same time really secondary—that is, it cannot surrender its own sovereignty, it cannot commit suicide. Nor can it make that not to have been which has been. If, as a distinguished recent authority affirms, "deliverance from the *guilt* of sin is necessary to the soul's peace with God," no sinner can ever be saved. Annihilation of the transgressor would be the only possible cancellation of guilt, and even that could not affect the fact as a part of history. It will always be true that he who has sinned *was* a sinner. Similarly,

it has no power to render omniscience ignorant, nor to localize omnipresence. Under the same principle, again, it cannot make right wrong, nor truth false, nor benevolence vindictive, nor justice unfair—that is, it cannot construct an arbitrary moral code, and by mere fiat give it validity. It is not denied that in the absence of restraint from within an Almighty person could play fast and loose with righteousness, could act the role of a Jove, a Satan, or a God, could even enforce a nomenclature which should *call* caprice constancy and cruelty compassion; nay, could dupe its creatures into imagining iniquity to be virtue and loathsomeness to be lovely, so constituting them, in fact, that that illusion would seem the most real of realities, and become innate and permanent. It is not difficult to conceive the universe turned topsy-turvy by the cavortings of wanton or malicious absolute power; but the head of the table would still be where MacGregor sits. Right would be right and not wrong, light would be light and not darkness, love would be love and not hate, however belied and humiliated, and omnipotence itself, daring to challenge the tides of eternal truth with an impotent, "Thus far and no further," would become a thing ridiculous and contemptible.

II. The Limitations of Divine Omnipotence in the Divine Nature Itself. If it should be argued, as it has been argued, in exception to the claim just urged, that omnipotence could not make malevolence benevolent, and so forth, that the sole source and test of righteousness is the divine will, which, therefore, if directed by opposite inclinations to opposite ends, would make what now seems to be wrong not only seem to be, but actually to be right, we may escape from the dreary and profitless speculation thus provoked, by simply remind-

ing ourselves that according to the consent of Christian theology in all sects, the real God, now regnant in the universe, is a Being invested with certain essential and moral attributes. Among these are, on one hand, omniscience and omnipresence; on the other, perfect holiness and perfect benevolence, terms inclusive of the more frequent ascriptions of justice, righteousness, love and mercy. With these qualities omnipotence is associated in equal and inalienable authority. Its power, therefore, comes to an end whenever its exercise would impinge upon their integrity. That is to say, God cannot act out of harmony with his own nature, cannot stultify himself, cannot be other than all-knowing, everywhere present, holy and kind, in action and in quiescence, in will and in way, throughout every part of his domain, from eternity to eternity.

To teach, however, that God is confined to the thoughts, purposes, desires which flow from a nature such as his, is to affirm a speculative, not a real, limitation of his power. For what actual thing is it which such attributes cannot compass, save only self-betrayal and the undoing of the creation, which would argue feebleness, not force? Power is manifested in the birth and sustentation of a cosmos, which, in its absence. impotence might suffice to tear down.

An assemblage of attributes such as these results, first, in its own immutability. God cannot change either his disposition or his ultimate designs. He cannot change his tastes, his desires. He cannot be other than steadfast, unflinching, unwavering. He cannot love what he has hated, nor hate what he has loved. He cannot repent, he cannot modify his plans, he cannot compromise, he cannot be false to his threat or his promise. To him alone in the universe is denied what

to us appears the supreme privilege of growth. How he escapes monotony must forever remain a mystery to finite understandings.

Again, the universality of these attributes logically necessitates a uniform principle, but not method, of government. God cannot exercise a fragmentary or spasmodic dominion, cannot detach himself from any region or abrogate his control over it, cannot be partial, cannot divide his throne with friend or foe. No matter who *appears* to rule, the Omniscient, the Omnipresent, the Omnipotent is inevitably the power behind and beneath the throne.

Nor, once more, can the Being who foresees all, who designs all, who fashions and frames at his will, who takes the awful initiative in the unshared act of creation, whose authority never remits, in whose presence every incident occurs and every affair is transacted under the unbearable white light of an absolute knowledge, at whose thought atoms dance and constellations unroll, who speaks and it is done, who commands and it stands fast, by any dictum or decree, by any convulsion of miracle or process of evolution, by any artifice, or contrivance, or "system," dissolve the bonds of responsibility which he freely assumes in becoming a voluntary author and Father. Here, also, omnipotence is brought to check by the immutable environment of the divine nature in consort with the nature of things.

It is held by some to be a debatable question, whether a being of these perfections can truly appreciate and sympathize with human needs, and especially human sorrows. For my part, I assume that the divine love is a reality, and I hold that no absolutism or omnipotence can render a being who *loves*, and who uses

secondary causes to promote desired ends, self-sufficient, that is, independent of the answer which the beloved object makes to his love, or impassive to the betrayal of the agents on whom his enterprises depend. Omnipotence cannot yield immunity from the chagrin of defeat, or disarm the sting of an unrequitted love. I will even go so far as to say that in calling the unborn into life and investing his affections in man, the Father has staked his own eternal peace upon the destiny of his offspring.

Such, then, are some of the "limitations" under which divine almightiness operates; and it must be evident that with respect to the redemption of man they are each and all restrictions, not upon its power to save, but upon its neglect of any possible means which promises to save, restrictions upon its desertion of man in any extremity, much more upon its becoming his enemy, his Torquemada or his Devil. They simply emphasize the assurance that all that is possible at all is possible with God; that everything *is* possible which infinite holiness and love can desire, infinite wisdom devise, and infinite resources provide material for; while nothing that is thus possible will be left undone to recover the lost sheep and bring the last vagrant and prodigal home to his Father's house.

But even these bold averments, broad as they are—nay, because they are so broad without being particular and specific—fail to impress the mind with anything like an adequate apprehension of the manifoldness, the indomitableness, the completeness of the divine power. Let us attempt a nearer and more detailed view of its significance.

What we then see is power in its plentitude and perfection; power beyond any ideal or conception; power

original, inexhaustable, indefatigable; power complete and measureless in its scope, in its variety, in its versatility; power equipped with all means, enforced by all helps, master of all methods, capable of instantaneous application anywhere, in any degree, in any manner, to the greatest advantage; freely moving in all directions, either simultaneously or successively, or in alternation; power swift or slow, ponderous or delicate, momentary or permanent; power practiced, sagacious, confident, patient; power to which all other power pays tribute, the tribute of child to parent and of subject to sovereign; power of all sorts, or under all forms, mechanical, chemical, vital, spiritual; power that

> "Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
> Glows in the stars, or blossoms on the trees,
> Lives through all life, extends through all extent
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent."

Words fail even to outline it. Is it then to be soberly argued that human will can baffle that before which human thought is helpless and human speech is dumb?

Omnipotence, let it be carefully considered, is not mere store of energy, mere quantity or quality of force. It is itself rather a product of the harmonies of the divine nature, from whose every attribute and function it collects its generous toll.

It arises, first, from the absolute fullness and precision of the *divine information* concerning the universe He governs. For Him there is no need of reporters, no dependence upon uncertain wires or operators, no waiting for dilatory and careless messengers, no ransacking of blurred and mutilated records, no juggling with witnesses, no mixing of accounts, no error of memory, no blunder of calculation, no hesitation, no inaccuracy of vision, or dullness of hearing, no possible slip or miss

of any sort whatsoever. Every secret of the enemy is published in the divine council-chamber (so to speak) more rapidly than it becomes intelligible to the slow mental machine of the creature—all his dreams, his plans of campaign, his musterings and his manœuvres. But on the divine side what skill, what numbers, what infallible judgment in choice of means and methods of attack! The Lord is a man of war! Who can withstand him?

Again, the divine power flows also from the *perfect consonance* of the divine will with the constitution and operations of nature. Say, if you will, (though I do not admit it), that man, and certain angels, perhaps, are exceptions to that harmony, it remains true that not only the stars which fought against Sisera, fight for God, but the whole drift and pressure of the creation, its material processes, its moral and social, its intellectual and spiritual, its industrial and political laws and forces, are brought to bear on God's side to invite, to persuade, to chastise, to frighten, to inspire, to coerce the rebellious into obedience, for the sake of the Universe. "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain" to deliver man into life and liberty. Does this avail nothing? Shall it again be true, on the most appalling scale, that "*mons laborat, parturit ridiculus mus*?"

Once more, God's omnipotence is the omnipotence of *an infinite love for men.* Is it "love that makes the world go round?" Far more is it true that love subdues the heavens to its sentiment. What a brother's love would do, what a mother's love would do, what a lover's love would do for its object, that and infinitely more, must omnipotent love do, finding its omnipotence multiplied (permit the paradox) by its love.

Still again, consider the omnipotence of an *infinite*

passion for righteousness: a yearning, crying, consuming hunger and thirst for righteousness. This is what the holiness of God must mean, so long as sin anywhere exists.

Or, consider the omnipotence of an absolute, unconquerable will-power, an all engrossing, immitigable *purpose!* Think what the pale shadow of this in men has done, and estimate what it must effect in the Eternal.

Add to these the reflection that God's cause is inherently right and thus inherently mighty. He holds unmistakably every position of advantage in his controversy with the sinner. Against man's stupid obduracy his own reason is pleading, his own interests are making outcry, yes, and his own heart-famine is bleedingly protesting. Man's nature is in revolt against man's sin. And the gospel addresses it with a message all love, all light, all health—although, alas, the imperfect media of our bungling ministries, obscure and even malign that message, hurtling it forth at times like a missile that wounds and repels what it was meant to succor and reclaim. Man never declines a divine overture when he recognizes the hand held out to him as divine; but he often repudiates the human mediator, whose meaning he misconstrues or whose motive he resents. Meanwhile God is patient, waiting for his ambassadors to master their office.

In this skeleton analysis it must be clear that the divine will is potent with mind, not less than with matter. Over matter its regency is, indeed, immediate and mandatory; over mind, (that is, over the free choice of the human mind), it is only educative and persuasive; but there too it is inevitable that the Creator should be supreme over the creature.

Finally, all modes of power God must be able to

employ with consummate facility. The genius of imparting truth, the knack of teaching, which, whether it consists in ingenuity of method and mastery of materials, or in a personal transfusion of enthusiasm, kindles and transfigures the pupil's mind to supernormal acuteness; the fascination of address, whose spell is hypnotic; the charm of elegant deportment, which seems to set its possessor apart as a being of selecter realms; the aspect of authority, the tone of command, whose control is direct and godlike; the burning eloquence of art, the witchery and dominance of the orator, the quiet dictatorship of the sage, the sovereignty that flashes from the sceptre of science, the mystery and magic of music, the thrill of the poet, the sway of the actor, the glamour of the hero, the finesse of the diplomat! All, all forms and varieties of influence, not in the common degrees in which they constitute the few leaders of the many the world over, not even in the extraordinary degrees where they empower here and there a man to be the moulder of nations or of centuries, but in infinite measure must belong to God. And such is the combination of persuasion and command which he can bring to bear at pleasure upon foolish and easily flattered or terrified humanity, just to induce men to accept riches for poverty, health for sickness, friends for foes, boundless happiness for bottomless misery!

It is not necessary that the Deity should incarnate himself in flesh in order to become the exponent of methods of persuasion like these. It will be sufficient if he clothes with adequate power some chosen representative. This at least he can do; and the effect of its doing cannot be doubtful.

Will it be said that this involves a piecing out with miracles of the insufficiency of natural processes? It

could hardly be called a miracle if it were the divine *method.* And no process could be more "natural" than one which grew out of the necessities of the divine nature. Even so, is it not better that Heaven should work a miracle than that men should be hopelessly damned? The Universalist theory does not anticipate the salvation of men by any agency so extraordinary as the suggestions just offered might describe; but it is not because it could have any diffidence as to the ability of the Almighty to employ such means if he chose, nor as to his willingness and readiness to employ them if the exigency required it. It is only because it trusts to the gradual and, to our impatience, the tedious, but nevertheless the inexorable, the invincible evolutions of the future; because it believes the whole effective value of such a fleshly incorporation to be already incarnated in the Nature of Things, in the very substance and framework of the creation, where it will in due time vindicate itself and its author.

The Universalist thought of the divine puissance is thus crudely sketched, and thereby the principal task of this paper is performed. For upon the definition and conception of omnipotence depends the inevitable sequel. Those who go with us thus far, must, we think, go with us the rest of the way. It remains then to inquire what sort and degree of control such power can wield over free volition.

Before coming to close quarters with that problem two or three general reflections may pave the way to an intelligent verdict.

1. God must at this present moment either be having or not having his own way. If he is now not having his own way it is certain, from the admitted premises of Christian theology, that he never had it. For

absolute, universal supremacy, especially when buttressed on either hand by omnipresence and omniscience, is in the nature of the case, self-perpetuating. It could neither be lost through inadvertence or conquest, nor voluntarily surrendered. Its absence now, therefore, would prove that it was never present. It would prove, also, that it can never *be* present, for omnipotence is, as said at the outset, a term of infinity, and that must be a birthright, it cannot be acquired. Dominance, indeed, over the finite powers of creation might be possible by gradually extending the area of victory, but even that could have no secure guaranty. Now this is the same as saying there is no God.

If, on the other hand, God is now having his own way, or, if at the beginning he had his own way, he must have it absolutely forever. For real omnipotence is indefeasible. Now, to have his own way means, in the case of man, not the subversion of human freedom, but (in some mode whose compatibility with human freedom presents precisely the same mystery or seeming paradox as the admitted co-existence of Divine Sovereignty and human free agency) the getting or persuading man to do what God wants him to do. Temporarily this embarrasses our theodicies with the fact of sin, for whose presence in creation the omnipotent Creator can by no means escape responsibility, but whose iniquity attaches to man, not to God. Ultimately this must mean the riddance of sin, which may be tolerated in passing, but cannot possibly appear in the finished work of a perfectly holy Being with power to execute his desires.

A divided destiny for men can only signify either that God does not have his own way, and is thus not omnipotent, or that it is not his way to abolish sin, and thus that he is not holy.

2. Again. If any soul is finally given over to sin and woe, in must be because God is either unwilling or unable to save it.

By salvation we mean the health, wholeness, holiness, the normal state of a soul stamped with the divine image.

If God is unwilling, if he be not eagerly desirous to save to the uttermost, he is not benevolent.

For the salvation of a soul is an unspeakable boon, not only to that soul but to the whole creation, and it is inconceivable that any interest can be damaged or hazarded by the conversion of disease to health, of disorder to sanity, by the presence of one more God-filled nature taking the place of a God-emptied one.

If God is unable to save, though eager to do so, the obstacle that prevents him is superior to him, he is not master of the situation. It may be said that the loss or abandonment of some souls is the alternative of interfering with a "system," or with human freedom. None the less, whatever the explanation, God has to compromise with his desires, has to be content with a part of the whole he craves, has to become—He, the great philanthropist—the perpetuator of misery; He, the Holy One, the Foundation of Death and Sin!

3. Once more. If it be now impossible to save all souls, it must always have been impossible. For, no new elements have entered into the problem which were not potential, and to divine thought actual, from eternity. And it is inconceivable that infinite Benevolence should, at any past time or stage, have let slip an opportunity then possessed for achieving what is now confessedly desirable. That is, some souls have been born which never had a chance for salvation, whose doom was always inevitable. The utter inadmissibility

of that remorseless conclusion forces us to reach back and recast the premise, and to say it is now possible to save all souls. For in damning souls with such logic we consign their author to far worse condemnation! It follows, of course, that God *can* save all souls—which is what we are concerned in this paper to prove.

It has not been my object in these general reflections, to found an argument for the Universalist faith upon the moral perfections of the Deity. But only negatively to show that his other attributes, so far from interposing any obstacle to the free, full exercise of his omnipotence in the work of human salvation, actually lay his power under the severest exactions to do its utmost to effect what his moral perfections unappeasably demand. From the truth, then, that the divine omnipotence cannot contravene the divine nature as a whole, we have through the preceding argument, the noble corollary that divine omnipotence is bound and cannot refuse to execute the aspirations of the divine holiness and benevolence in securing to each soul its highest possible good.

Taking for granted, now, the universal Christian ascription to the Deity of perfect holiness—i. e. perfect antagonism to sin—and perfect benevolence—i. e. perfect antagonism to sorrow, combined with and operating under the instance of perfect knowledge and wisdom, we reach the direct inquiry whether omnipotence, which we have seen implies every sort of power raised to the highest degree, re-inforced by every other sort of power, and with every advantage of position, precedence, tireless patience, exhaustless reserves, and unflagging perseverance, whether God, thus circumstanced, who "desires all men to be saved and come unto the knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim. ii: 4.) will

be able to "bless us in turning away every one of us from our iniquities." (Acts iii: 26.)

If the Almighty's hand (in spite of prophetic assurance to the contrary) is "shortened that it cannot save" (Is. lix:1.) it must be that the salvation of some souls is impossible.

But *how* is it impossible? Not, surely, in the sense of being self nullifying or unthinkable. Not because it is inconsistent with perfect benevolence, which rather craves and insists upon it. Not because it is inconsistent with perfect holiness, which is itself destroyed by acquiescence in sin as finality. The imaginary demand of justice for an infinite penalty upon every sin, according to the strained and distorted scholastic definition, is negatived for us by the psalmist's logic, "Unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy, for thou renderest to every man according to his work." (Ps. lxii: 12.) "Even-handed justice" is the true mercy, since it is the chastening hurt that also heals. Or, we quote with equal reliance, the lines of our own modern psalmist:

> "Ye praise his justice, even *such*
> His pitying love I deem."

Nor, again, is universal salvation inconsistent with "the nature of things," so that omnipotence cannot compass it. For the nature of things is precisely the same for one soul as for another. Since many are admittedly saved—saved, remember, not by their own exertions but by divine succor, as the prevailing interpretation everywhere teaches—there can be no inherent impossibility in the salvation of the others, or of all.

These, however, are the *only* impossibilities, arising from the constitution of the divine nature, and of the nature of things, which can limit the operations of omnipotence. Ergo, omnipotence is not limited in the

direction of salvation, which it is therefore competent to make universal.

To this argument, which seems invulnerable, two objections are opposed:

First, it is said that divine power, while not necessarily and eternally limited in respect to human influence, has voluntarily put limit upon itself by adopting a certain "plan of redemption" which Revelation publishes.

It does not fall within the province of this paper to discuss the alleged Scriptural grounds for the contention that God has imposed manacles upon his own freedom, has set arbitrary boundaries to his own love for men and abhorrence of sin. It suffices to say that Universalist scholarship vigorously contests the interpretation which leads to such self-evident absurdity; and that the very attributes of God, which constitute the core and climax of Revelation, render the interpretation untenable.

The "scheme of redemption" alluded to, involves three items, to which we may briefly attend:

1. That human nature is self-vitiated, corrupted, perverted and incompetent to plan, desire, or execute reform. Nevertheless its destiny hinges upon its free acceptance or rejection of the divine proffer of rescue. Obviously where there is no ability to recognize or approve the good, there is no liberty to choose it. But even here cannot he who created re-create? Say that a man is reduced by sin to a state of helplessness, is it the utmost that omnipotence can do to offer help that cannot even be perceived, to reach out a hand to a paralytic, or throw a rope to a man already unconscious in the coma of drowning?

2. The "scheme" supposes that only *partial* provision

has been made for human redemption. For it is but mockery to call that provision impartial which it is foreknown will be inadequate to the redemption of more than a portion of mankind. We have seen, however, that the universal attributes of God render him impotent to act in a partial way, or to do less than all that is possible for the good of every one of his children.

3. The "scheme" limits salvation to a certain arbitrary method, and, in particular, limits its opportunity to this earthly life. Now, allowing for argument's sake, that a system so unnatural and artificial could ever have been entertained in the same mind which instituted the sublime processes of nature, still what is done arbitrarily can arbitrarily be undone, when its tenure is solely in the will of the doer.

For instance, no one can suppose there is any inherent necessity for limiting earthly life to seventy years as its normal term. It appears to be credible that in earlier epochs man's mortal span was far longer than that. It is certain that the actual average of life has been sensibly advanced, even within the past decade, by wider knowledge and more natural modes of living. Nothing is known to physiology or anatomy which need make it impossible to extend the earthly period quite indefinitely, it may be for hundreds, it might be for thousands of years. Surely omnipotence could accomplish this extension. It could, and it ought, at least to guarantee the allotted limit to each man, whereas few in fact attain it and, on the whole, reckoning all extremes—the baby whose life force yields but a single gasp and the centenarian—the average allowance is only a little more than half of the three score and ten. Yet will any one dare to affirm that if for the profli-

gate and depraved the experience here on the earth of the illusoriness of sin, of its vapid as well as its poignant results, or, on the other hand, the observation of the solidity and splendor of the results of righteousness were continued for a hundred, two hundred, five hundred years, we *know* he would still go on mutilating, tormenting, disappointing himself, with utter irreclaimable hardness towards the gentle overtures of truth and love? The logic of cause and effect, the makeup of human nature, repudiate that prophecy.

Or, look over the entire field of divine possibility, even under the operations of the imagined "plan of redemption." We cannot say that creation itself was *necessary.* We cannot say that just the particular style of creation which exists was *necessary.* We cannot say that the continuance of the creation is *necessary.* To say so would deny the freedom of God. There was, then, the original escape from the atrocity of begetting human beings for a hopeless doom, of not creating at all, or of creating so as to avoid the doom which popular theology forebodes. There is *now*, if a blunder was then made, the resource of annihilation. This, it may be retorted, would amount to the self-stultification of God. I answer, not a thousandth part so much as the endless damning of helplessness in the name of love and justice!

Or, again, it must be possible for omnipotence to make the penalties of wrong-doing prompter and more palpable; or the ministers of righteousness more eloquent in speech, more skillful in generalship, more generous in gifts. Might not this save some, perhaps all?

In general, we may say of such a "scheme" as is supposed that, depending upon nothing but the choice of God, it must be susceptible of amendment or even of

repeal at his pleasure. That is, he *can* change it if he wishes to, and the only ground for alleging that he will not wish to is the assumption that the present status is tending invincibly towards the only goal of universal holiness and happiness which could satisfy his perfections.

The second objection to our application of the divine omnipotence is that free-will cannot be forced, and is capable of acquiring a permanent evil propensity which will assure its eternal choice of wrong.

Then, we rejoin, whatever explanation is given, God is not omnipotent. He is balked and foiled in his purposes. He does not have his own way!

But our answer may be more specific:

1st. Is it true that the will is beyond control, and may become *fixed* in error and folly?

(*a*) Many distinct scriptural affirmations tell the contrary story. For example, "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord like the water-courses; he turneth it whithersoever he will" (Prov. xxi, 1.) "God worketh in you both to will and to work, for his good pleasure," (Phil. ii, 13.)

(*b*) Some men are saved. That is, volition can be influenced without being violated.

(*c*) There is an actual reign of God in history, there is a confessed Providential divinity which "shapes our ends, rough-hew them as we will." Which shows that God may circumvent human freedom without subverting it, is not less free himself because he made man free.

(*d*) The power that controls matter gets thereby large, if not absolute, control over mind. The relation of mutual dependence between mind and matter in the mundane state of man is a study yet in its infancy, but

already far enough advanced to indicate that environment plays a salient part in the free choice of men. The mind, like the chameleon, is much subdued to what it dwells with. Some wit has not inaptly remarked that the difference of a quarter of an inch in the width of his shoe-sole may convert an optimist into a pessimist. Or, as Edgar A. Poe dreams of the angel Israfel, according to the Koran sweetest of heaven's singers, "whose heart-strings are a lute:"

> "If I could dwell where Israfel hath dwelt,
> And he where I,
> He might not sing so wildly well
> A mortal melody;
> While a bolder note than this might swell
> From my lyre in the sky."

It is no part of Universalist theory to affirm that man is the subject of circumstances. Yet often, no doubt, his transplantation to more favorable conditions would involve the transformation of his purposes. And a special opportunity, nay, a necessity for such change is implied in the experience called death. He who opens his eyes upon the scenes of eternity, as all do in their turn, beholds everywhere novelty, a new epoch, the certainty of spiritual facts, new relations, new companionships. Is it impossible that omnipotence should so manipulate these novel investitures as to overcome man's scruples against his own well-being, and win a son's response to a Father's love?

(*e*) Once more, there are no known "incorrigibles." The Gospels treat all men as alike competent to repentance, except under the paralysis of an artificial despair, caused not by consciousness of sin, but by the threats of a pitiless creed. No man doubts his ability to reform, with the help of that omnipresent grace which the divine nature has incarnated in the nature of things.

(*f*) Man's freedom—like that of his maker—does not mean ability to do anything whatsoever, but only to act in harmony with human nature and with the nature of things. His choices are conditioned by his desires, and his desires are conditioned by his knowledge. It may be said unqualifiedly that the sinner is the victim of illusions, of the fancy that his mistaken act will somehow do him good. He may be responsible in a measure for his blindness, but blind he certainly is. Open his eyes to the facts of the spiritual kingdom, and admitting the momentum of habit, it may even be said to be impossible for him eternally to prefer poverty to riches, weakness to strength, strife to peace, misery to blessedness.

Now we know that it is the nature of mere appetite to cloy with over-indulgence of passion; to be itself consumed with the flame of its own lust; of every vice in its later stages to grow loathsome. Mind cannot be forever impervious to these facts, and free-will cannot forever ignore them.

Knowledge, in truth, is something that cannot be permanently avoided. It is the nature of the eye to see and of the ear to hear; and, however stunted these organs may become, it is insupposable that the one should forever mistake darkness for light, or the other imagine discord to be harmony.

Reflect, now, that in a spiritual world it is inevitable that heaven and hell should be contiguous; that no part of the universe or creature in it can be shut out from the divine omnipresence; that, thus beset by God and by the eloquence of the contrast between his own sad plight and the serene fortunes of the blessed, he cannot but cry out against his chains and long for emancipation; that such a cry is at least *quasi*

repentance, and such longing is the aspiration which lifts by its exercise—and what is there, except an arbitrary and mechanical "scheme," impossible to the thought of a Being of infinite attributes, which can prevent this new and truer knowledge, this nobler desire, from effecting their natural transmutations of character in the eternity beyond the grave, as well as in the eternity this side the grave?

It is incompatible with the definition of free-will that it should be *coerced* either to salvation or to damnation. But while force is futile, persuasion remains. The final loss of a soul would imply its ability forever to prefer the known worse to the known better, a sort of freedom (the negative of true freedom) which, having no actual existence in human beings, serves only to illustrate the grotesque possibilities of unrestricted metaphysical moonshine. Mind thus grown impervious to light, heart thus emptied of its natural power to love the lovely, would be no longer mind or heart. Man would have become a mere automaton, and, if any real entity survived that cataclysm, would be only a *thing*, which, having no interior capacity of self-motion, could and should be coerced from without.

Here our argument comes to an end. If every detail of suggestion has not been treated, the principles which must determine the full solution, have, I think, been enunciated. The offense of Universalism is that it

> "Dare not fix with mete and bound,
> The love and power of God."

It sees in man a creature bearing divine attributes, but warped by waywardness and wilfulness from their true proportion and purpose. Upon that distortion the condemnation of the universe is heaped. All the forces of nature press upon it, not madly, but with sublime

concert and infallible sagacity, to restore the violated balance. All the power of the Eternal is pledged to its correction. Against it man's own nature, groaning under the penalties of transgression, protests in mortal fear and pain. It has no friend without, no excuse within. The peace of the creation—may we not say of the Creator also—depends upon its cure. The battle is superb in its very inequality, but it can end only one way. The individual against the universe; the one against the all; the exception against the rule; the made against the Maker; the feeble against the Almighty; the stupid against the All-knowing; the easily spent against the Inexhaustible; the finite against the Eternal—can there be any question as to the sequel?

Universalism answers: "He sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers." God must win; man also will win, and come off more than conqueror through the conquest of God, even over himself.

Presentation Day, Hall of Washington, Sept. 15.

IV.

UNIVERSAL HOLINESS AND HAPPINESS

The Final Result of God's Government.

BY JOHN COLEMAN ADAMS, D. D.

THE end of all theological inquiry is the question of destiny. That is the inevitable and final problem toward which all our religious thinking tends. The doctrine concerning the "last things" is not merely the chronological sequel to all other divine truths; it is the logical conclusion which gives meaning and life to all the rest. The course of the creative process foretells the conclusion; the conclusion explains the process. It is not, therefore, the gratification of an idle speculative passion which leads man to ponder so seriously the destiny to which his own life is unfolding, to which the whole cosmos advances. The solution of that mystery must either exalt his soul with joy or sink it in disappointment and dread. For he can only view with distress a consummation which shall leave his prayers unanswered, his best endeavors frustrated, his whole life defeated. He can have no pleasure in a prophetic vision which reveals a universe perpetually at strife,

rent with an everlasting feud, scandalized by an eternally irretrievable failure.

It is with reason, therefore, that the doctrine of the final triumph of good over evil has been proclaimed with such emphasis by those who would vindicate the character of the Heavenly Father, and assert the omnipotence of the divine love. To insist upon the central truth of Universalism is simply to recognize the logic of the creation. It is to reason the religious problem to a real solution. It is to recognize the demands of a faith which may subsist with love, and of a love which would secure itself in faith. It is to answer the persistency of the human soul in its resolute demand to know the truth and the whole truth about the future toward which it so steadfastly moves. Those who minimize the importance of this teaching, who think it can be evaded, or ignored, or silenced, do not give just weight either to its logical importance or to the relation it bears to the most anxious questionings of the human heart. Logic and love unite in the demand for a prediction as to destiny which shall consist with the divine love and life.

But for fifteen hundred years the teachings of Christendom have been hopelessly out of joint. Premise and conclusion of the creeds have contradicted each other. The doctrine of the divine fatherhood and love has been suffering a perpetual eclipse under the dreary prophecy of everlasting woe, evil without end, as the destiny of the moral universe. For the church has given its assent to the doctrine that the destiny of a portion of the human race is woe without limit in duration or intensity. It has taught the perpetuity of sin, the endlessness of moral evil, the triumph of God's foes over his power, their successful resistance of his loving will.

It has believed in the inherent superiority of evil over good. It has taught that error is stronger than truth, darkness than light, hatred than love. It has pictured a future for the human race which is black with hopeless doom; a future which contradicts at once the love of God and his power; which practically refutes the doctrine of his fatherhood; which sends human affection back from its questionings of the future, smitten with a hopeless terror or despair. "I believe in God the Father Almighty," begins the creed of the church; and opens its confession with a note of jubilant faith. "I believe in the eternal perdition of the wicked," is its unspoken conclusion; and so closes with a sob of pity and despair. The creed of popular Christianity calls for a new, a more consistent, a more cheering culmination. Faith and love both recoil from the terrible anticlimax which ends the popular creed.

The logic of the divine fatherhood requires a doctrine concerning destiny which will not affront every sentiment of adoration for the divine being by representing the All Father as acquiescing in eternal ruin and woe for any child of his love; a doctrine which will not affirm the eternal defeat of the divine will, the everlasting confusion of the divine righteousness; a doctrine which will not inflame the uttermost horizons of futurity with the lurid rays of an indestructible hell; a doctrine which is at one with the splendid vaticinations of modern thought in its visions of a cosmos developing toward harmony and peace; a doctrine which foresees victory to the armies of God, and leaves the soul contented with the assurance of a great day of reconciliation and harmony unclouded by the rebellion of a single sentient creature.

To state such a doctrine, to define and to defend it, has been in large measure the office of those who have upheld the Universalist faith. It has been their duty and privilege to assert and reiterate the one necessary and inevitable culmination of the moral development of the creation, which is consistent with the assertion of the divine love and power. That climax of the creative work must be the complete establishment of the good. It means the elimination of moral evil. It means, not the prolongation, but the extinction of sin, its complete extirpation from the soul whose evil choice has given it being. Evil, moral evil, the only real and dreadful evil in the universe, is finally and in the last analysis, the refusal of the soul to obey the law of God, It is the rebellion of the will against the rules of the creation. It is resistance to right. It is the choice and the love of unrighteousness. No conquest is a real conquest which does not alter and destroy all these false relations of the soul to its duty and its proper life. The victory of God, the triumph of good over evil, is not achieved until that choice is reversed, that love changed to aversion, the resistance of the sinful soul overcome, its rebellion reduced, its refusal recalled. Health we consider our physical good; disease is physical evil. But disease is overcome only when health is restored. The physician does not cure, he does not conquer the physical disturbance by simply isolating the patient. That is a procedure which merely prevents infection and the spread of the disease. But putting the patient in hospital or pesthouse was never yet deemed a conquest of the malady. There is a way of fighting disease so as to master it. Sickness can be overcome, the disordered functions regulated, the quickened pulse reduced, the fever allayed, the delirium

banished. To talk as if anything less than this were a conquest of the disease would be an abuse of terms. A treatment which should perpetuate the morbid conditions, keep up the febrile disturbance, permit the disease germs to mature and establish their hold on the patient would never be called a therapeutic success. Neither would a course of treatment which should gradually drug the senses and annihilate the functions. To perpetuate the disease or to kill the patient is not a triumph of medical skill. The only conquest of the diseases of the body, the physical evils of life, is the curing and removal of them.

The same law holds of social evils. The wickedness which infects every great community of men, insurrection against law, defiance of authority, violence, personal vice, is pervasive and omnipresent. But if it were possible to confine it within prescribed limits; if malefactors could be put under lock and key and vice absolutely confined within definite precincts; if we were thus enabled to hold the manifestation and activities of evil thoroughly under control; still it could with no fitness be said that social evil was conquered. Evil is never overcome by merely concentrating it. The criminal is not less a criminal because he is locked up. There is precisely as much vice in society as there was when it was permitted to run at large. The only difference is one of geography. Society does not overcome its evils by restraint and repression. The soldier and the policeman are only temporary necessities, mere makeshifts of progress, representing not a final, but a transient and temporary expedient. The functions they represent belong to an imperfect society, a type which can never be deemed the end of civilization, but only one of the steps toward that end. The ideal of

the philanthropist includes something more than a well-policed city; it has in view a city which needs no constraints. The aim of the reformer and of the preacher is not a political estate in which the armies of great nations shall hold one another in mutual and reciprocal check; they seek to bring in a time in which there shall be no more war because the nations shall have ceased to hate one another

What other law than this shall we expect to find holding sway in the larger process of redemption? How can we conceive of the great labor of divine love, the removal of moral evil, the destruction of sin, except as a conquest of the same kind? Evil is everywhere one. Great or little, in large organisms or small, in fractions of human society, or in its totality, it is ever the same derangement, disease, disturbance of moral and spiritual functions. It can never, therefore, be overcome, save by rearrangement, by cure, by the restoration of internal harmony. The conquest of evil is the establishment of good. The triumph of good is its substitution for evil. The only way to overcome evil is to eradicate it; the only way to eradicate it is to convert it into good.

That is no proper definition, therefore, of the triumph of good over evil which describes it as a disposal of the wicked which shall shut them up in a place, circumscribe their powers of harm, cut them off from other creatures, house them in hell forever. If moral evil is a failure of the creature to realize its Creator's will; if sin is the wilful infraction of divine law, how are the failure and the infraction overcome by making them perpetual? If sin is the chaos of misguided passions, undisciplined instincts, defiant volitions in which the evil heart involves itself, how does our

Father reduce that chaos by withholding every regenerative influence, every recreative power, and suffering it to remain chaos forever? Is the sinner less a sinner when he is isolated from all good souls, quarantined and confined in some dungeon of the universe? Is he any more in harmony with the divine will when he is sentenced to defy that will forever? Is his rebellion overcome if he remains a rebel for all eternity? Is his defiance subdued as long as he still defies? Is God's will victorious as long as man's will remains unsubjugated and disobedient? The only subjugation of sin is that which repentance and reformation secure. Sin is overcome only when it gives place to righteousness and love. It is scarcely better than a parody upon divine power to represent God as acquiescing in the eternal rebellion of the sinful, and then to treat that consent as if it were a triumph of divine might. God bids man serve and love him. Man refuses, disobeys and hates. Then, God commands again, continue in your disobedience and hatred forever. This, forsooth, is what the popular theology calls the triumph of God, and the conquest of sin.

It is impossible that Christian theology should long consent to receive for true, such a misrepresentation of the divine procedure. A triumph which confirms the power God is striving to overcome; a triumph which perpetuates the antagonism he seeks to remove; a triumph which demonstrates the utter insufficiency of the divine forces; a triumph which leaves the field in possession of the enemy; which ends while the armies of God are still beleaguering the stubborn citadel of the human soul; even after æons of eternity have rolled away—this may be indeed the victory which Paul means when he points to the coming day when Christ,

the Father's great Lieutenant, "shall have put all enemies under His feet, that God may be all and in all." But if it is, we shall be justified in calling the destruction of the Armada a Spanish success and the War of the Revolution a triumph of British arms.

It is not logically possible to entertain such a conception of divine power and activity. There is no middle ground consistent with infinite power and love, between the doctrines of dualism and the belief in the final holiness of all souls. The Lord of lords, and King of kings shall triumph in no such nominal fashion as this. Not His to win as conquerors do who exile, enslave and crush their foes. He will overcome evil with good. He will reconcile all things unto Himself. He will not leave the power He has been battling to breathe defiance and treason forever, nor permit everlasting disobedience to mock at His might. When God triumphs He will sweep the field. He will carry the war into the enemy's country. He will subjugate, not surround; He will bring under, not to bay; He will not perpetuate, but reduce and reconcile the estrangement of the evil. He will never leave the spirit of insurrection to grow fiercer throughout eternity. His hatred of sin will destroy sin. His love will triumph only when it is met by man's answering love; only when the cry comes up from the nethermost hell, the cry for which creation waits and listens with longings unspeakable, the cry foretold in the story of the prodigal son, and destined at last to come from the heart of the most reprobate and outcast rebel, "I will arise and go to my Father." That is the true, the final triumph of God, the victory of good over evil.

But it is always pertinent to inquire whether the foreshadowings of human thought, the logic of the in-

tellect informed by the heart, and of the heart enlightened by the understanding, are justified or confirmed by any logic of nature. How do the laws of life sustain our prayers or our prophecies? Does the universe deny or confirm our hopes? If we seek the affirmations of nature in their relation to the great problem of the ultimate fate of evil and the evil soul, we find them full of hopeful omens and forecasts. Nature is a baffling guide. It is easy to make her sayings oracular, and even contradictory. But the more deeply she is studied, the more cheering do her pages grow. The dogmas of science are affording less and less shelter to the pessimists with every restatement of her truths. It would be possible to cite a long array of her testimonies, which go to confirm the faith born of the gospel, in the universal and final reign of righteousness. But probably they are all summed up and included in that law which science lays down, and which experience demonstrates to be true in every application to life and to development, the law which is among the most sweeping and comprehensive ever formulated, applying as clearly to the growth of the soul as to the trickling of a stream of water, the law that *motion is always in the direction of the least resistance.*

Motion always follows the line of least resistance or of greatest traction, or the resultant of the two. The orbit of every planet in our system is along the line of least resistance. So is every breeze which blows across the face of the earth. The crooked roots of the tree are a record of the obstacles they have met, and the easements as well, in the course of their growth along this line of least resistance. The multiplication of forms of life is a revelation of where the line has run of least resistance to their continuance. The development

of the individual and the evolution of society follow the same law. The man's growth is the resultant of the greatest tractions and the least resistances, and men choose their pursuits and exercise their activities, populations find their homes and labor expends its exertions along lines where the strongest inducements draw and the fewest hindrances oppose. The march of nations and the trend of their civilizations, all movements of all phases and forms of life, submit to this same guiding principle. It is a law whose sweep is co-extensive with the life of the creation. It is a law which may, indeed, have received too much emphasis. It is probable that men have laid so much stress upon the pull of external forces—the influence of environment as they have called it—that they have neglected to give due weight to the co-ordinate or reciprocal fact, the push of the internal forces, the responsive impulse of the germ and its developed vitality. But it is an established law of the evolution of the cosmos. It is part of the vast and majestic array of forces which are weaving the web of God's gracious purpose. And it is a fact fraught with the most serene and hopeful light for the future of the human race, the great family of the souls of men.

For, in the first place, it calls to mind all that wonderful, complex, and infinite net-work of forces which are in the service and under the control of the Eternal Love. Man's environment is God's universe. The tractions and the resistances of man's will are the sworn subjects and servants of the Heavenly Father. He who determines from the beginning in what direction the line of least resistance to the human soul shall be projected, is the everlasting friend and lover of that soul. If, therefore, we were to predict the direction of that line

from the nature of Him who has arranged it, we must conceive it as running altogether through the points of harmony, of righteousness, of holiness, which is wholeness of life. Because God, the framer of creation, is the Father of all souls, we can form no thought of the progress of the human race which does not consist with His love and care for man. Because God loves his children we may look to see the path laid out before the feet of the advancing race leading toward a goal of good to all. The divine fatherhood could draw no other line.

If we turn from the character of Him who has staked out the great highway of human progress, to the indications along that way of its final goal, we find the strongest confirmation of our hopes and our prophecies. Within and without the soul, in the nature of man and the nature of things outside him, the line of least resistance is in the direction of goodness, the fulfilment of the soul's true life, conformity to the divine will and purpose. All a man's inner nature protests against the deflections of sin. We resist our own selves, or rather we have all our own moral organization against us when we do evil. Sin is the violation of our own natures, and when we do violence to those natures there is a great outcry from within. Looking into the soul alone, we find that "the way of the transgressor is hard." His own nature is a constant resistance and hindrance to the sinner. The resistance which man's soul makes to every fresh indulgence in evil, the unrest of the passions, the pangs of remorse, the still more bitter torment of evil dispositions whose satiety brings still insatiate cravings—all attest the fact that his moral nature is organized so as to make the line of least resistance run in the direction of righteousness.

But sin, moral evil, is not only against the nature of the soul. It is against the outward nature of things as well. It is contrary to man's environment. He who allies himself with wickedness is in perpetual collision with the creation. He becomes involved in a quarrel with every interest of the human brotherhood, with every institution devised for man's well being, with the currents of law which sweep through the universe from high to low, with the cohesions of society, and with the gravitation of events. He is against his own body, he is against every atom of matter and every ounce of force. Every sin puts its perpetrator in resistance to the universe. "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera." As Milton sings, putting a law of the cosmos into the poet's numbers, and describing the sequences of man's act of disobedience:

> "Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
> In pangs; and nature gave a second groan;
> Sky lowered, and muttering thunder, some sad drops
> Wept at completing of the mortal sin."

Thus do we find the nature of man and the nature of things conspiring to "make the way of transgessors hard," to put resistances in the way of the sinful soul, to cause the line of least resistance to run in the direction of holiness. But these two sets of forces, the organism and the environment, the soul and its surrounding world, are the two decisive elements in spiritual evolution. The development of a soul depends on the nature of the world within and the world without that soul. If we find them both co-ordinated and tending to one and the same end, can we make any other conclusion than that God intends and is working out the final harmony and righteousness of the human race? When God made the way of transgressors hard, and when He caused the path of the just to shine

brighter and brighter unto the perfect day, He prophesied the direction in which our race is to move. He indicated the destiny of man. He forecast the consummation of the ages. He foreshadowed the moral order and the progress of man:

> "One law, one element
> And one far-off, divine event,
> Toward which the whole creation moves."

This is the glorious message which the sacred writings announce, which Israel was commissioned to bear, which makes the gospel the "glad tidings" to the world. It is the fashion to speak of the "optimism" of the Jews, as if that were an accident of their national temperament. It is, in fact, the very key-note of their inspiration. To them it was given to hear the world's morning song of hope and expectation in the dark night of sin and misery. Theirs was the high privilege of seeing and of announcing the final harmony of the creation in righteousness and love. From the legends of Genesis to the vision of Patmos, the pages of the Bible teem with prophecy and implication of the final overthrow of evil, the movement of the moral creation in the direction ordained by the Divine Love. That sublime consummation is foreseen, and predicted in the very announcement of the advent of moral evil into human life, in the declaration that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head. It is proclaimed with increasing firmness until the pages of the Apocalypse, when it swells into the exultant chant which glories in the destruction of death and hell in the lake of fire. The conception which Israel held of the nature of this great triumph of God may be read in those words in which the second Isaiah makes Jehovah declare, "I have sworn by myself, the word is gone out of my

mouth and shall not return unto me void, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear,. surely shall say: "In the Lord have I righteousness and strength." The foregleam of a knowledge of the universal fatherhood, which is the guarantee of universal good, flashes brightly in the prophet's discernment of God's proprietary right in human beings: "All souls are mine:" as well as the words put into Jehovah's mouth, "Thou hadst pity on the gourd * * * and should not I spare Nineveh?" The letters of Paul are missives of the good news that the creation is to be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God; that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow and every tongue confess; that God will gather together in one all things in Christ; that having made peace by the blood of his cross, God will reconcile all things unto himself; and that when all things shall be subdued unto him, when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all. The utterances of Jesus, both explicit and implicit, are full of the calm assurance of a divine foreknowledge that the kingdom of heaven, which he came to found, should be a complete and universal dominion. It is difficult to give any other than their exact and full meaning to his words, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me;" or to his other affirmation, "And this is the will of Him that sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but raise it up at the last day." Nor does one subject his language to any forced interpretation in putting great stress upon the words which describe the shepherd searching for his lost sheep and the woman

for her lost money, *until they find them.* But quite aside from such declarations, there is the broad doctrine of the Fatherhood of God whose full scope can never be reconciled with the continued existence of sin and its sequences of misery forever. And surely that is a halting logic which announces its belief that the Son of Man came to seek and to save that which is lost, and equips him in its thought with all the resources of the Heavenly Father, and then concludes that his mission will fail of its great purpose, and his love behold the travail of his soul and be but half satisfied. Let Christian faith take courage. Let it expand its expectations to the broadest limits of God's love and power. Let men see in the new heavens and the new earth the holy city which is the abode, not of a handful of the elect, nor even of a multitude which still lacks the completeness of the whole human family, but of a race redeemed, ransomed from sin, released from the bondage of iniquity, a city wherein there shall be no more curse, "neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain," where "the Lord God giveth them light," and "they shall reign forever and ever."

Finally, the prediction which we feel to be warranted by the nature of evil and its relation to the soul, by the character of the environment which helps to shape the direction of progress, and by the utterances of the Holy Spirit,—this thrice iterated message to the soul, is confirmed by the backward look which discloses the way of human progress. History is prophecy. The future is writ in the past. The record of our race shows one long, unremitting conflict, from the dreary lowlands where the human race began to the fair plains where now it builds the cities of its pride. But it is a running battle toward peace,

purity and perfection. Man has fought his way to the higher life. All his upward struggle has pointed to a time when good shall triumph over evil, holiness prevail over sin, and the final victory rest in very truth with the cohorts of God. That is the meaning of all the movement, turmoil, strife and struggle from the beginning until now, from now until the great consummation. It has all pointed toward the victory of righteousness. Good must triumph and all the brood of evil things which infest existence be destroyed. That was the meaning of the struggle for existence which peopled the earth with living creatures, each the best of its kind; that was the meaning of the struggle between man and brute which gave the dominion of the earth to man; that was the meaning of the struggle for food and for land which pushed the vigorous tribes of the primeval world ever westward, bearing with them a better civilization; that was the meaning of ancient wars with all their pain and loss. All these discords and strivings are the long apprenticeship of the race for a life of harmony, the reign of law and of love and of light. All the strife within the heart itself, has looked to the rule of best in man over the worst, the moral over the animal, the good over the evil. The first struggle that ever startled the face of the earth was the beginning of a movement, a warfare, an onward march, which was destined to end only in one way,—the victory of righteousness, the triumph of good over evil, the establishment of holiness as the normal condition of all creatures.

"For Right is Right, since God is God,
And right the day must win;
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin."

Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 12.

V.

HARMONY OF THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES.

All God's Attributes Phases of Divine Love.

BY REV. EDGAR LEAVITT.

ALL other Christians unite with Universalists so far as words can go, in saying that God is infinite in Love, Justice, Power and Wisdom, and appeal to the Scriptures as declaring this doctrine and setting it forth in its hitherto highest historic manifestation, in the incarnation, life, words and works, sufferings and death of Jesus Christ, in order that mankind through him may be raised to a divine life. But many seem to us to completely nullify this common profession of faith by other beliefs which they also profess to hold. It appears to us impossible to believe in the attributes above mentioned, and yet, at the same time, to assent to the standard views of the Calvinistic sects, as declared in the Westminster Confession of Faith, namely, that "God from all eternity did by the most wise and holy council of His will, freely and unchangeably foreordain whatsoever comes to pass," (Chap. iii, Sec. 1,) and that: "By the decree of God, and for the manifestation of His glory, some men and angels are predestin-

ated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained unto everlasting death," (Sec. 3,) and that: "These angels and men thus predestinated and foreordained are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their number is so certain and exact that it can be neither increased nor diminished." (Sec. 4.)

Nor on the other hand does the view held with various modifications by the Arminian sects, such as the Methodists, Free-will Baptists, and also by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and Episcopalians, so far as they have departed from the original rigor of their doctrinal standards, seem to us any less irreconcilable with the idea that God is infinite in the attributes of Love, Justice, Power and Wisdom, than the Calvinistic teaching above referred to.

The great objection to the Calvinistic idea is, that God could not be kind and good, and yet having the foreordaining of all things in his hands, freely and unchangeably ordain a certain part of the human race before the foundation of the world "to everlasting death," by which is not to be understood extinction of conscious being, but "subjection to the wrath of God, the curse of the law, to all miseries, both temporal and external," (Chap. vi, Sec. 6,) "and to the pains of hell forever," (Answer to question 19, Shorter Catechism.)

Neither could He be considered just and impartial, since not only the foreordination of the great difference between the "elect" and the "non-elect" was "without foresight of faith, or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature as conditions or causes moving Him thereunto." (Chap. iii, Sec. 5.) It was unconditional and arbitrary, while Justice is believed to have some reference to con-

ditions and causes, and Reason, to merits and demerits.

Again, it is felt to be unjust, and unmerciful because it makes the unfortunate victims of the divine displeasure, though blameless, utterly helpless to avert, by anything they can possibly do, the terrible doom decreed by the infinite Sovereign of the Universe. It seems by its doctrine of "foreordination of whatsoever comes to pass" to utterly destroy the freedom of the will, to introduce fatalism, and thus to destroy all just moral responsibility; though it is noteworthy, however contradictory it may seem, that this is the only Confession of Faith, so far as known to the writer, in which the freedom of will is explicitly stated. (Chap. iii, Sec. 1.) Be that as it may, it is a freedom which can affect nothing except as foreordained, and hence is practically of no account whatever in averting the foreknown and predestined doom.

But the Arminian sects, on the other hand, while denying foreordination, assert the divine foreknowledge in a way that results equally, so it appears to us, in nullifying the idea of the infinite Love, Justice, Power and Wisdom of God. The foreknowledge of God on the other hand, indeed all *knowledge*, is something more than a guess or an opinion. It has the quality of *certainty* or it is not knowledge. And a result foreknown is as certain and inevitable as if foreordained by one able to bring his purpose to pass. Hence, if the "Foreordination" of Calvinism logically results in fatalism, destroying all just moral accountability, in the popularly received sense of the term, which it is here neither necessary for us to affirm or deny, the "Foreknowledge" of Arminianism, no less logically results in fatalism also.

We do not assert that the foreknowledge of God is equivalent to ordination by God, nor do we assert that creation is by itself equivalent to foreordination; but we do assert that to create human beings, foreknowing that *if* created, endless misery will be their certain and inevitable doom, is the same as to foreordain that dreadful doom, even though these human beings shall act according to their own free will so far as free will is consistent with previous certainty and inevitableness; and being thus inevitable, in spite of asserted and apparent free will, the result appears equally unjust.

Rev. Dr. Whedon of the Methodist Episcopal church endeavors to avoid this difficulty by a theory, which, however, his brethren have not yet generally accepted, namely: "That it is impossible even for God to foreknow the act of a free moral agent." His argument, in effect is: that if a certain act was foreknown before the foundation of the world, or at any other time, it was, by that time at least, determined and fixed, hence its determination could not rest with the individual not yet in existence, who ages later, was to perform the foreknown act; hence his will is not free to determine, or not to determine, the said act which had been already determined.

To this his objectors might reply: "To say that God does not foreknow whatsoever comes to pass from the beginning, is to limit His knowledge, which may not be done, since that knowledge is infinite. But it this be true, then objectors must accept the other alternative of limiting his Justice and Love, instead of his knowledge. The advocates of "Whedonism," as it may be called, may answer: "Divine knowledge, like all knowledge, must have a basis of fact—knowledge is a cognizance of fact—no fact—no knowledge. And knowl-

edge of the *future* event is knowledge of the event not directly, but knowledge of present elements, of fact which *must* produce that future event. Hence, in order to the divine foreknowledge there must be a present knowledge, or cognizance of certain elements whatever they may be, which not only may, but *must* result in the act foreknown. These elements predetermined the event.

"Foreknowledge, then, logically necessitates predetermination either by foreordination of God, or by that of some other being or beings, who can and will, in connection with whatever other elements may be involved, bring to pass that which is foreknown."

"If the individual will had as yet no existence, and its decisions were as yet therefore undetermined, then its decisions could as yet have no existence, in any sense whatever, either *in esse*, or *in future*, in the purpose of any existent being or beings, or in the properties of any elements which would necessitate the foreknown outcome; therefore they had no existence whatever—were in no sense facts; hence could not be cognized or known. And as knowledge is cognizance of fact, where there is no fact there is no knowledge, for there is nothing to know, and to say that one does not know that which in any sense is not, is not a limitation of knowledge—hence not of the divine foreknowledge."

"Whedonism" would thus attempt to save the infinite Love of God by claiming that He did not foresee or foreknow what the dreadful final outcome would be, as others would attempt to save the infinite Knowledge and Wisdom of God, by sacrificing the divine Justice and Love. It certainly cannot be conceded that God has no final purpose in the creation, and that He has not foreseen and predetermined the outcome.

To concede this would certainly be to yield our faith in His infinite Wisdom and Power; and were we to concede that that final purpose was not one of good for all, we should yield also our faith in His infinite Love and Justice; for being free to create or not to create, if he had not created at all, it would have been no loss or injustice to any, while to create in view of the awful and inevitable doom, is certainly injustice to those predestined to it. The infinite God with His infinite attributes must encompass all things; hence, all extremes, however far apart, *must* be within the circumference of the Infinite Love, Justice, Power and Wisdom, and not inconsistent with them, nor can these attributes of God be inconsistent with each other.

But it is evident to us that the Calvinistic and Arminian views are both inconsistent with the confession that God is a being of infinite love, justice, wisdom and power, and that the common idea of probation by which man, and not God, is made to decide the final success or failure of the divine purpose, while it destroys the divine supremacy, is at the same time incapable of being harmonized with either theory, one of which explicitly *asserts*, and the other as logically *implies* the predetermination of that which the doctrine of the probation would leave man to determine. This doctrine of probation appears to us to be also equally as unsupported by the Scriptures as by right reason. It could be but an exceedingly limited love, or justice, or power, or wisdom, which, being *free* to act, or not to act, should call the children of God (Luke iii, 38; Acts xvii, 28, 29) into being and set them afloat upon the great sea of so certain an uncertainty of the final result, notwithstanding the forthputting of all the divine resources—to run the risk of such a stupendous

calamity as these systems teach, and with which all possible earthly calamities are absolutely incomparable, and which all the efforts of God, actuated by his infinite attributes, were powerless to avert. No earthly parent could bring children into being realizing the risk of such an awful doom and not be considered extremely limited in love, justice and wisdom, and stupendous in selfishness and wickedness.

All comparisons between human beings and God are defective if they do not proceed from that which is less to that which is greatest, from that which is excellent to that which is most excellent, from that which is imperfect to that which is perfection itself. If man be gifted with free will it is given him for a wise and good purpose—the purpose of Him who conferred it. It is conferred that it may contribute to the execution of that purpose, not that it may render man an independent being so far as to enable him to defeat the purpose of God. If man has free will, we may be sure that free will is consistent with the final triumph of the divine purpose, and that the final triumph of the divine purpose is consistent with such free will as man may possess.

It certainly would impeach the divine wisdom to assert that it would introduce into the plan an element which it foresaw would defeat that plan; it would be an impeachment of that wisdom to assert that God could not or did not foresee how this element, if introduced, would affect the final result; and it would impeach that wisdom again to assert that it would introduce an element not knowing what the final effect would be; and it would be impeaching the divine power, as well as wisdom, to assert that it had created something which it could not control for the final purpose designed,

and that without violating the nature which he had given it.

And what the divine will and purpose is, the Scriptures explicitly declare, namely, to have all men to be saved, even (*kai*) to come to a knowledge of the truth. (1 Tim., ii: 4). It is worthy of notice that the Greek word for "will" here is *thelo*, the will of determination and not *boulomai*, the will of mere willingness, as some assert.* "Having made known to us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure which he hath purposed in himself, that in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and on earth; even in him. In whom, also, we *have obtained* an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will (*thelema*) that we should be to the praise of his glory who *first* trusted in Christ."† (Eph. i., 9–12.)

All things gathered under one head in Christ whether heavenly or earthly. This is ideal; this is a perfect consummation, such as all good men and angels would delight in and might pray for, and disliked only by the evil. This satisfies the demands of the head and the heart. This is demanded by the conception of a God of attributes of balanced and infinite excellence.

[*See Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon under *Ethelo.*]

†Having made known unto us the mystery of his will (*thelema*, of determination) according to his good pleasure which he purposed in him (Christ), unto (or that there should be) a dispensation of the fulness of the (appointed) seasons that all things might be gathered under one head in (or by, *en*) Christ, both which are in heaven and on earth, even in (or by, *en*) him (Christ) in (or by, *en*) whom we also have inherited, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things according to the counsel (*boule*) of his will (*thelechia*, of determination), so that we who first trusted in Christ should be the praise of his glory.—(Compare Greek of Westcott and Hort.)

But it is not our statement alone that these divine attributes are limited and inconsistent with one another if these systems be true; it is often confessed by the disciples of these various schools of theologic thought. It is not unfrequently said that—

"A God all mercy
Is a God unjust,"

that the love of God, if he were to permit himself to be governed by love alone, would often demand what his sense of justice must deny; that the love of God would demand what neither his wisdom nor his power could effect—in short, that the divine bosom, so to speak, must often be torn by those contending and contradictory emotions which war in human breasts. Universalists, on the contrary, assert that this cannot be, that the reason why human bosoms are often the seat of contending impulses is because of our finiteness and our imperfection. If we were infinitely loving, if our love had no imperfection, either in quantity or quality, and we were also as wise as loving and as just as wise, there could never arise any conflict between these principles in our souls, because a true love would never desire for the object of its affection that which was not best for it, nor does true justice ever demand that which is not right; that which is right is always best and that which is best in the highest sense is always right. Perfect wisdom sees the harmony between them and the way in which that harmony might finally be manifested. Mercy is one pillar of an arch, justice is the other, the foundation of both is love. They seem to stand apart, but they meet at the top, and the keystone of the arch is perfect wisdom.

The difficulty is that many have incorrect ideas of what these terms love, justice, power and wisdom mean.

They have a low, not a high understanding of them. Love means to many a mere fondness which may be quite as much a love of self as love of the object fondled. It denotes with many that lower kind of affection which expresses itself in the indulgence of the whims, caprices, and notions of the person loved without regard to his highest, best and most far-reaching welfare. True, and at the same time *wise* love, is quite a different thing from all this. This lower kind of love is that of fond and foolish parents who pet and caress their child and humor his every desire and whim, do not cross him in anything, dress him prettily, permit him to have his own way, subject him to no inconvenience, to no discipline of mind or body, neither teach nor compel him to work, nor inure him to the hardship and toil that others have to experience. They cannot prick a splinter from his finger because it may make their darling cry or grow faint at the sight of blood. This course of treatment is to a greater or less extent followed by too many parents in all classes of society, and the child, if he live through it, will, unless he possess such native strength of virtue as to make him almost unspoilable, turn out, if lacking in vitality, a namby-pamby weakling, yet none the less wicked, or if well dowered with vitality, a brutal ruffian: in either case neither manifesting nor feeling any sense of gratitude or respect for the fond-foolish parents who have lavished their unwise affection upon him—a spoiled child.

The other kind of love is of a ruggeder, albeit not on that account of a less genuine character, nor deficient in strength and quality. These parents are gentle yet firm, severe where the best interests of the child seem to demand it, insisting on obedience, and wise and strong enough to finally secure it, and with it, the respect and

affection of the child. The child is taught self-denial not self-indulgence, hardiness not weakness, manliness not effeminacy, bravery not cowardice, industry not idleness, truthfulness not deceit, honesty not knavery, regard of others not selfishness, diligence not loitering, economy not prodigality, knowledge not ignorance, wisdom not foolishness, kindness not cruelty, benevolence not malice, obedience not lawlessness, self-control not madness, chastity not impurity, faith not skepticism piety not blasphemy, reverence not flippancy; the aim in short, being to strengthen and build up all the virtues, and weaken and eliminate all the vices. There will not be lacking manifestation of affection in fond and loving and comforting ways; but that is the truest and highest love, the wisest, justest, and most merciful, that seeks the highest and farthest-reaching good, though its necessary methods may sometimes seem harsh and severe. It may be painful at times, both for parent and for child, to enforce justice, but the highest good of the child, as well as of all concerned, requires it, and therefore wisest love calls for its enforcement. Parents who refuse to enforce it lack either in wisdom to see the highest good, or in the truest, highest love.

The love of wise and true parents is like the love (*agapē*) of God, (John iv. 8) only his love—like himself is infinite and perfect. Justice then not only is not inconsistent with true love, but is one of its highest phases of manifestation, as mercy is another, more generally recognized as such. Yet justice to many means not the doing or making to do that which is just and right, or enforcing the measures by which this is to be secured; it is rather the paying off one injury by another as great, or even greater, if possible, than the one received, the causing of a certain amount

of loss or suffering in mind and body for a certain amount of wrong-doing, without regard to the condition of *wrong-being* that led to the wrong-doing, and without any expectation or intent of changing it to a condition of *right-being*. Reformation has no place in this idea of the purpose of punishment, or if it has, it is only incidental and not central. Punishment is by too many considered simply as vengeance, the wreaking of malice, spite, anger, or revenge for the wrong done, rather than as chastisement or correction—that which is intended to finally chasten, correct, make pure, from evil.

The attention has been accustomed to dwell upon the outward means adopted to effect chastisement rather than upon the purpose for which punishment is inflicted. So it happens that those noble philanthropists who have made a scientific study of penology have arrived at conclusions far superior to those arrived at by the adherents of these theologic systems to which we have referred. That correction should be the central aim of all punishment is to-day one of the axioms of enlightened penology. This mistaken view to which we have referred, has for centuries warped many words used in this connection from their original meanings, and attached to them those in accordance with the errors so widely held. Thus, punishment is from the Sanskrit root *pu*—to cleanse; the same root is found in pure, purge, purgatory. It is also the root of pain, penal, penalty, penance, penitence, penitentiary. So also the words vengeance, revenge, vengeful, vindictive, vindicate, etc., have been wrested from their true original meaning by this tendency of mankind to see the external and incidental and lose sight of that which is central and essential. Vindicate is still used in a good sense, though vindictive is always used in an evil

sense, yet they, as well as vengeance, are only forms of the same Latin word *vindicare*—to adjudge or enforce justice.

To those unaware of this fact of the popular perversion of words, it seems harsh and unworthy to speak of God as a "God of vengeance," one who is "vindictive," etc., and there are those who feel that the Bible presentation of the divine character is unworthy on this account, and censure those who, in view of this, are yet unwilling to surrender faith in its special claims; and yet this is but to say of Him, in the true, original meaning of the Hebrew word, that God is a just God who will see that sooner or later justice shall be done; and that though the measures taken may be severe for the sufferer and disturbing to our feelings, they are not on that account necessarily inimical to his highest final interests.

Nay, as Universalists, we believe that chastisement is what he needs, and ought to receive, and that it is therefore not an expression of divine malevolence, but rightly understood, of the divine love, acting as justice. The terms wrath, anger, etc., employed in the Scriptures are used "by accommodation," as it is called, to describe the divine chastisements as they appear from the human standpoint, (as a child might say when chastised: "Papa was angry with me," or a parent might say to a child: "If you do so papa will be angry with you;") yet it is anger in a sense not necessarily inconsistent with the welfare of the child, yea, even seeking to promote that welfare. Doubtless there is a divine emotion corresponding to the divine action, but it would be blasphemous to ascribe in reality to the motives of the divine action those limitations of unreason and other imperfections, which inhere to a greater or

less degree in human motives. Since God is infinite and perfect, all his motives, like his acts, must partake of the infinite perfection of his character, however expressed.

Yet, while we assert the above, we must admit that we do not always see, nor do we believe it is always possible to see, how the direction or permission of certain events, in either profane or sacred history, serves a good purpose and is therefore consistent with this declaration. There have been many events in the history of individuals, communities, and nations, the love, justice and wisdom of which we can not even pretend to fathom; but it does not necessarily follow that even they are not bottomed, surrounded, and held by the hand of the infinite Love, Justice, Wisdom and Power. When we were children there were many things in the household management that seemed to us inexplicable, hard, utterly irreconcilable, with that affection which we supposed parents must possess, but when we became older, and sustained the parental relation ourselves, many things which before had been inexplicable became plain. Human beings, the wisest and most far-seeing are but children of the infinite God. How then should they expect to completely comprehend in every case just how certain events are consistent with infinite Love, Justice, Wisdom, and Power, even though we may apprehend something of it?

Events in our own lives have appeared to us inexplicable, yet time, and mental and moral development, have shown us at last how all was for the best. Such instances are by no means rare. A young man once told the writer that in drawing a gun through a fence it was discharged, shattering his arm and rendering amputation necessary, nearly costing him his life, and

leaving his nervous system permanently impaired. "Yet," said he, "it was one of the best things that ever happened to me. It roused my ambition, developed my latent responsibilities, and made a man of me." He reached an honorable position, though he died prematurely as the result of his nervous impairment. But perhaps, as he now looks back from his present sphere, he sees in that premature death a blessing as he saw one before in the seeming accident of which it was the indirect result. And this may be true of nations that seem to have been providentially though even harshly removed from the earth. Many cases like these give a basis for confidence that it is always so, even in those cases where we cannot trace the *how;* that God is a God, who, though he dwells in the thick clouds and darkness round about him, yet brings light out of darkness, good out of evil.

But if this kind of reasoning may be admissible in the case of evils that are finite in their duration it by no means follows that it is in any degree admissible, as some perhaps may claim, with regard to evil that is endless in its duration. In the former case we can conceive that the seeming evil might be a means wisely intended to result in final good, although we were unable to see *how* it could be wise or result in good; but when we come to endless sin and misery the case is quite different. In the former we may not see how it can result in good, but in the latter we see that it can not result in good, since it has no outcome but an infinite continuation of itself. The very terms of the problem preclude its solution.

Justice and mercy—the inflicting of penalty or the withholding of it and administering comfort—though opposite in appearance, are not in fact contradictory to

each other, being only different phases of love, the central and essential element of the divine character, each exhibited or withdrawn, according as the condition of all concerned shall seem to the Divine Wisdom to require. Looked at from a high point of view, Justice and Mercy are both seen to be essentially one and the same and serving the same divine end.

St. John, the beloved Apostle, who entered most intimately into the heart and mind of Jesus, tells us that "God is love, and he that dwelleth in love," therefore, "dwelleth in God, and God in him." (I John iv: 8—16.) We do not understand by this that God is an abstract principle called love. We must beware of the too common fallacy of abstractions. There is no such thing as Love, Justice, Wisdom or Power, aside from some *being* who is loving, just, wise or powerful. Words expressing abstractions are mere conveniences of thought and speech. We must beware of becoming entangled by them. When St. John says "God is love," we do not understand him to declare that God is an abstraction; but to assert in the strongest possible manner that love, or lovingness, is the great essential and central principle of the divine character, and that his other attributes are but subsidiary and auxiliary to this.

The Scriptures nowhere tell us that God is Justice though he is all-just, that he is Wisdom though he is all-wise, that he is Power though he is all-powerful; but they *do* tell us that "God is Love"—the most emphatic declaration that love is central and essential in the divine character—not the love of mere fondness or passion, the distinction between which and a true, wise love we have already noticed, but the love that is judicious and judicial, that seeks the highest interest and welfare of the loved one.

Love in the highest sense of the term being then the central and essential attribute of the divine character, his justice must be the Justice of Love, his mercy the Mercy of Love, his wisdom the Wisdom of Love, his power the Power of Love. And not only this, but the divine love is equally all-just, all-merciful, all-wise, all-powerful. In the 13th chapter of First Corinthians, this love (*agape*) is thus characterized: "love is long-suffering (patient) and is useful (or helpful), is not envious, is not boastful, is not puffed up, behaveth not unseemly, seeketh not its own (is not selfish), is not provoked (acidified, or thrown into a paroxysm), doth not impute evil, rejoiceth not over iniquity, rejoiceth with the truth; covereth (or forgiveth) all things, trusteth all things, endureth all things. Love never faileth." God therefore can not fail.

This kind of love is the same in man and in God, only in man it is finite and imperfect, whereas in God it is infinite. Men, therefore, should cultivate this love that they may be like their Father in Heaven. "He that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God and God in him for God is love."

The divine attributes then are all in harmony with one another; they need no reconciliation for they are not unreconciled, except to the misunderstanding of man, and are incapable of becoming so. The conflict which men think they discern is only apparent, not real, like the conflicts which the ancients thought they saw in nature, and which they thought required many conflicting gods to account for them. Modern science reduces nature's apparent conflicts under unitary law, thus corroborating the monotheistic teaching of Hebrew-Christian revelation. So will, thought and faith, the study of our experience and the Scriptures,

harmonize and unify all the divine attributes in this central and essential one of love, and show that St. John made no partial or one-sided statement when he said: "God is love." Since "God is love," love must have purposed, planned, directed, foreseen and foreordained, final universal holiness, because anything less than this would be inconsistent with the divine love and with its infinitude; and since "love never faileth," God cannot fail in the finally perfect consummation of his plan.

But why any evil at all, even though but temporary, yet so long continued, as a means to the final good result? may be asked by some. If we adopt the views of those who hold, in the popular sense, to the free will of man, (Arminians), we may account for present temporary moral evil by asserting that it is the result of the free will of man crossing the divine will, and that the resulting punishment, whether following as a mere consequence according to the mechanical law of cause and effect, or juridically bestowed, is the necessary discipline and chastisement by which the soul is to be taught the bitterness of evil, and by contrast, the sweetness of obedience. Moral evil is the resultant of the free will of man, though not logically *necessitated* by it; hence man is deserving of punishment, and at the same time it is for his good that he receive it. This free will which renders evil possible, though not necessary, is itself a necessity to the development of such final results in character as God holds in mind as the highest good; without it such final results would be impossible. But if we practically deny "the freedom of the will," in the popularly accepted sense, by asserting the divine foreordination of "whatsoever comes to pass," as some appear to do, then moral evil is but the

necessary consequence of the present immaturity of the fruitage which divine providence is slowly ripening through the ages to a finally sweet and golden harvest, as the bitterness and astringency of unripened fruit are due to its immaturity. Punishment, or blame, or whatever evil consequences, though by believers in the popular idea of free will considered unjust because of want of freedom, is needed, and if needed, therefore, deserved, as a means of correcting the immature and imperfect qualities of the yet unripened fruit and promoting its maturity and perfection. Punishment or discipline of whatever kind, or when, or where, or how, received, if man is governed directly by motives brought to bear upon him, or within him, instead of himself *choosing* the motives which he permits to govern him, is but supplying to him the motives that divine love and wisdom see that he needs; and so punishment and reward, praise and blame, instruction and care, should not in either case be withheld by God or man, and are not inconsistent with love, or justice, or with the perfection of any of the divine attributes. Nor should man fear less to offend in one case than in the other, since the results are the same whatever theory is held concerning human freedom.

But if it still be asked, why any evil at all, either moral or physical, since God is love, we answer that results are not obtained even by God himself, except through the operation of the law of cause and effect. Same causes and conditions produce same effects. Equivalent causes and conditions produce equivalent effects. Like causes and conditions produce like effects. Adequate causes and conditions are always necessary to produce a given effect. To illustrate: The resultant character, or its equivalent, which free

will makes possible, can only be attained through free will or its equivalent. The result of a process of growth, or its equivalents, cannot be obtained without a process of growth, or its equivalent, and this, not because of any law of nature which God has instituted or might have instituted otherwise, but because of the necessity of being which could not be otherwise, but is co-eternal with, and inseparably inherent in God himself, and therefore in his creation, like the necessary truths of mathematics.

Although it be conceded that equivalent results might have been obtained through other equivalent processes, we cannot know that any possible equivalent process, by which the result could have been attained, would have been superior to the process through which it *is* obtained; but since God is infinitely wise and good, we must conclude that the proposed result obtained through freedom of the will and the possibility of temporary evil incident thereto, is a better result than is attainable by any other arrangement equivalent to free will. And if we take the other view, we may still agree that the result attained through growth and consequent immaturity and imperfection on its way to perfection, is better than any result attainable by any other method. Therefore without denying the exceeding sinfulness of sin, or the bitterness of evil, we must regard them as but temporary in God's far-reaching plan, though hitherto, and for a long time to come, running parallel with human history and interwoven with it, and resultant from free will or the imperfection of immaturity, yet justly punishable, but with an everlasting purpose for final good; and also that the plan of God is consistent with infinite love, justice, power and wisdom; all God's attributes working harmoniously to-

gether, being but phases of, or auxilliary to, the infinite love, which is ever working on the wisest and best possible plan, to attain the blessed final result—universal holiness—and consequently that universal happiness which must be inseparably connected therewith.

Read in Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 12.

VI.

THE INTRINSIC WORTH OF MAN.

BY EVERETT LEVI REXFORD, D. D.

IT is difficult to state the problem of the intrinsic worth of a human being, for the reason that there is no uniform or generally recognized standard of values, if indeed there be any such standard possible. Values are determined by circumstances and the stress of necessity. A bird is more valuable than a human being, if a swift message is to be borne afar, from the given moment of an urgent demand.

The wings of the carrier pigeon are fleeter than the plodding feet of the human. Gold is of more value than thought, or love, when a heavy note falls due, or famine is wasting the lives of the people. A way steamer is more serviceable where the products of the field are waiting for transportation at every angle of the river, than the ocean vessel that bears a great commerce across the lonely seas. Everything has its value in its own proper sphere, and even there its greatest value when the dominant idea and purpose are most completely allied with the essential nature and law of the thing itself. The value of a human being is most dis-

tinctly seen in that estate of life wherein the latent powers find competent expression. A life, a civilization, a condition, which arrests the action of half our possibilities, can never disclose the value of a man. An age or country governed by a military genius sees little value in a human being beyond the age limits of eighteen and forty-five years. He is supposed to be a good fighter between those dates. Fatiguing campaigns are easily accomplished; nature can feed itself then, if other food supplies are cut off, and the terrible trade of war can be prosecuted with a wild and fierce enthusiasm. Human values under the reign of that spirit are all anticipatory prior to active service. A boy is of no value as a boy, but only as a prospective soldier, and a girl is chiefly valuable as a prospective mother of soldiers. Napoleon, asked by Madam De Stael, Who was the greatest woman that ever lived? replied, "The woman who has borne the most sons." What *can* be consecrated on the altars of the war-gods, is consecrated with befitting rites of savagery; and what cannot be so devoted is sacrificed with lesser ceremony, so only it be disposed of quickly. Beyond the fighting age, life is an incumbrance and should cease with a rude grace.

That stage of human existence, whereof a selfish personal greed is the chief feature, erects a different standard and determines all questions of human worth by the number of dollars and cents that can be coined from human bone, muscle and nerve The dollar sign is stamped upon everything and the altars of Mammon rise on every hand. The helpless years of infancy and childhood are regarded with an impatience which is soothed only by a promise, and not infrequently the fulfillment of that promise is demanded all too soon, while the growing inactivity of age is looked upon as a

useless, robber-draft upon the treasury, with no compensating considerations. The spectacle of age, lingering quietly in well-earned repose, challenges no reverence or gratitude, but the impatient word is "Move on! Move on! and give place to the productive energies," rather than the word: "Stay and rest and live and be venerated and loved, completing with grace the life of toil."

This is not life. These standards do not measure or determine the value of a human being. Neither Mars nor Mammon ever understood or comprehended the import of a man. They have summoned only his rudest powers to their service and have impoverished even these by misdirection.

It is the calamity of any and all low types of civilization that they never disclose the real and therefore great values of human life. Great characters may rise above the sunken levels of their day; such characters have risen again and again, generally to be scorned and rejected and crucified, but it is not to be forgotten that in the coronation of the immortals the crown of thorns is indispensable. And as between thorns, and gold and diamonds, the first proclaim a wider divergence from the popular sovereignty of the times, and they are ever doomed to wait their golden age, an age not characterized by havoc, or wasting, or violence, through the ravages of a single and unrelated power of human nature, sweeping over all other energies and laying waste the fair and beautiful provinces of this same human kingdom, but an age made gracious by the symmetrical culture of the entire nature of man, and so disclosing in human life the image and the grace of God.

That alone is the true standard of judgment for estimating the intrinsic worth of man, which accords

value—an inestimable value—to every faculty and power found in the original endowment of his nature. It is not meant by this that there is an incalculable value in every faculty by itself considered, but that every power may serve every other power, and so reaching ever upward to a fortune that has no limits. Man is not a body, possessing a soul, but rather an infinite soul possessing and using for the time, a body. He has the intellect, the spirit, mysteriously endowed with the power to think, to resolve, to hope, to love, to aspire, to remember; the power to suffer, to imagine, to worship, to enjoy—these and more are the marvelous possibilities of the human being, and together they enable man to take his place in the infinite world which the Almighty has created and to "think God's thoughts after him." In every faculty of man there abides a divine integrity. The infinite God is followed by the infinite man, by virtue of that divine gift indicated in the sacred word that man was made in the image and likeness of God.

This judgment of the divine value of the entire nature of man, I know very well, has not always been recognized. The blighting verdict of his worthlessness, rather, has long prevailed, even in the high court of religion, or rather of theology, but in these later days we are recovering by intelligence and appreciation what the church and the world lost long ago through ignorance and the lust of power, and in the place of the theologian's decree of human worthlessness, the modern genius is entering the decree of infinite value. And more than this: where the older theologic policy destroyed nine-tenths of human nature with the design of making a Christian of the remaining fragment, the modern genius insists upon the culture and develop-

ment of the entire human being in the interest of brotherhood and service toward man, and childhood and reverence toward God. And when the world shall develop a civilization that will recognize and give free action to the aggregate nature of man, the kingdom of God will dwell among men upon earth. That age will have its materialism; men will buy and sell and get gain; they will build railroads and ships; they will build houses—even palaces. There will be gold and silver, and governments, and laws, and parties, but there will be brotherhood, and liberty, and grace, and beauty, and worship, and love, and a widely diffused intelligence; and while there will be a sense of utility, it will be found that that utility will not rest upon a physical basis altogether, or even mainly on that basis. A child will be loved for love's sake, regardless of the prospective soldier or the mother of soldiers, and equally regardless of the daily wages that it may earn in some later day. Age shall be loved and venerated and cared for, for the essential benediction that abides in all noble age for and by itself alone. A friend shall be loved for love's sake, not for the benefits it may bestow; and even worship shall be not for the purpose of winning Heaven but for the heaven that abides in worship itself.

Beauty shall have its utility; sentiment, noble and divine, shall have its utility; manhood and womanhood and childhood shall all have their utility, not for what they can do but for what they are. Love is better than hate as a solitary and unrelated fact of consciousness. It is something of divine import that a person can carry a great joyous secret in his own heart, even if he shall bear it as an undivided treasure. It is so much heart-wealth and inspiration, held securely within, it may be, while

external fortunes might render the days poor and burdensome.

And all this thronging fortune is available to man because human nature is what it is in its manifold possibilities of relationships and experiences. Here is a nature that easily escapes from a withering present, it may be, and flies to the remote for its refreshing, and as readily brings back from other times, and it may be, other worlds, for the illumination of the present, the holy fortune, or projects the divinity of a present hour into the distant years. It is a denizen of all places and times. It dwells in different worlds at once. It is not limited to a place and a day. Imperial, all-inclusive, all-commanding—this is the nature God has given to his child, and when once it is awakened and understood, it walks with God in his fields, lives with him and thinks with him along all the multitudinous ways of its charmed and fascinated life.

Let me return to tarry a brief moment yet with this ambitious conception, first voiced by Kepler, of a human being thinking God's thoughts after him.

That struggle has its history. It commenced in a wide-reaching chaos. Man could trace the divine lines but a brief way at first. Ignorance covered everything with its forbidding pall, and the human understanding was baffled again and again. But that unconquerable energy has persisted, and slowly the bewildering chaos has yielded and given place to a realm of order and law, through which the instructed mind moves with an ever-increasing assurance. A vast unknown remains, but on this hither border of the realm, man has discovered a rational order of things. He has discovered much of the thought which God has incorporated in the economy of nature and of life. He has deciphered

many a heiroglyphic, and so the mind of man has established itself in the mind of God.

But to do this, what labor has been requisite! And what experiences have been encountered!

The long unyielding mysteries on the one hand and the more stubborn resistance of human prejudice on the other! What multitudes of men have gone forth into the multitudinous fields, to make inquiry, to return often empty-handed, to meet the empty-hearted and scoffing ignorance that would not even ask a question, but destined to go forth again, and to return with the glowing and conquering fact! Into all fields have they gone and succeeding in their quest, our physical scientists have placed the world of humanity under a debt of obligation that cannot be soon discharged. They have toiled, and they have grown in their toil, rising steadily to an equality with the laws of nature and at last triumphing over them and making those laws the servants of man. How they have risen along the lines of God's thinking! A great discoverer is a great thinker after God, and with what sustained vigor may such an one bear up against the scorn of the world while a divine truth is breaking through the mists that have enveloped him, and filling his soul with ecstacy while it fills the world with light!

What men are these who have described to us the great world-house in which we dwell, who have given us the key that has unlocked it, and told us how to get into it; who have disclosed it beauties, its designs, its laws, its uses, its economies!

And what other men have told us of our marvelous relations to other worlds, and by what laws they all dwell together in God's immensity! And others yet—how they have disclosed the philosophies of human

relations and the philanthropies that can make glad the life of man in the beneficent universe.

Our scientists, our philosophers, our philanthropists, our poets, our artists, our religionists—how they have all been thinkers of God's thoughts after him! Every one of them has brought some thought of the Great Spirit, for every fact in nature is a thought of God, and every relation is not only a thought, but a philosophy and a benevolence.

The man who first discovered that two separate facts in nature were related each to the other, commenced to weave that mighty fabric which has shielded and mantled the world, while the man who first discovered the mutual relations between two human souls wrote the first chapter of that mighty religion which is destined to gather all souls at last into its blessed security. Every soul that has studied deeply the import of humanity from the earliest to the latest day has written this prophecy. The first chapter of human history commenced with the illusory judgment that man is sufficient unto himself, and of himself alone, but that same chapter ended with an agonizing question concerning that judgment.

The second chapter commenced with the family as a multiplied unit, but even that closed with another question looking toward a clustering together of families. The tribal conception followed, and then the national, requiring long centuries to master the personal and smaller preference, but the thought of God has slowly emerged, and to-day the most rapidly growing connection in the mind of man is that not alone in the material universe is there a law of unity pervading all things, but in the world of humanity every interest is related to every other interest, that everybody is essen-

tial to everybody, and that no man can live a broad and rich and deep life of mind or heart on his own account.

Many years ago, in his famous Belfast address, Professor Tyndall used the image of the rough walls and projecting timbers of an incomplete structure as evidences that the building was to be extended.

There is a rough, unfinished side of every man's life, every nation's life, so long as the separate is maintained. We may build in our selfishness, build completely as we think, but man is too great to be a fragment. Some new demand will be made. The pattern of the Lord's house drawn in the deep nature of every human being, calls for a vast structure.

Build as completely as we may on separable grounds, we are fated to tear down and build greater. And all through the history of our kind, the men who have seen this transcendent vision and have proclaimed it, have kept the world from shrinking, and so losing the image and impress of the Infinite.

I like to think of those historic names identified with the expanding portions of the people, as types of what all may become, if not in the personal scope of their lives, then as trusty messengers of their spirit.

Nor yet alone the men who have set back the limits of the old, for the larger life of the new day; but it is joyous to recall those who have made life beautiful and even passionate with their gift. I like to think of men who have caught the shifting images of beauty, and rendered them permanent in marble or on canvas. I like to think of Beethoven and Mendelssohn as reading the lovely mysteries that God breathed into the vibrant airs about us—the marvelous soul that only great souls could interpret. These, too, are our great brothers, to dwell with whom, even for a little while, is

a perpetual inspiration and delight. How do these all increase our sense of the intrinsic worth of man, in that their genius reaches out so broadly over the prophetic area of God's thought! These follow Him.

Victor Hugo names Homer, Job, Æschylus, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Lucretius, Juvenal, Saint John, Saint Paul, Tacitus, Dante, Rabelais, Cervantes and Shakespeare, and says of them that they define the avenue of the immovable giants of the mind. But how are the mighty spaces between these Olympians, so enthroned over the world, filled by a more humanized type of mortals who come into our life in a more amiable and companionable way—filled even by the royal friends we meet in the common ways of life, who bring to us daily a sacred sense of good! I would not leave that gigantic group as Hugo has left it. I would quickly prefer to substitute Rabelais and Cervantes with James Martineau and Ralph Waldo Emerson—the double crown of nineteenth century thinking.

But after all statements and comparisons, our interest in all these imperial souls is in the fact that their possibilities grade down to us and our possibilities grade up to them. Every human being, marred and broken as he is, is a possible member of that royal group. Time and the purpose of Heaven still brood over him. Humphrey Davy, when asked what his greatest discovery was, answered quickly, "Michael Faraday." He was an unpromising boy, ill-conditioned enough, but where God has deposited a thought you may always look for marvels. Every street urchin is a possible Dante or Saint John, and Emerson has said that the life of Jesus is the life of every man, "written large."

And impelled by this suggestion may I approach the summit worth of this human world and claim the

Prophet of Nazareth as in the human lists? If we seek the highest intrinsic worth of man, shall we not seek it in the highest and the divinest? The theologic habit has impoverished our humanity by transferring its crown to the ranks of deity. Let it not be so. We add no glory to Jesus of Nazareth by placing him in those ranks. The reverse rather is the result of such a transfer. The people who think of Jesus as God, generally I imagine, believe in a God beside him. But when a man is found believing in one infinite being, does he add any volume to his sense of Deity by duplicating his thought? A man who believes in one supreme and infinite deity may multiply his conception a thousand times without increasing its volume. And hence the placing of Jesus in the deified list, already full, is virtually his annihilation. He adds nothing as such, and is so removed from the domain of spiritual forces. The doctrine of the trinity is thus seen to be the annihilation of Jesus, for I repeat, if in the human mind there be the conception of one infinite being you can not increase the volume of divinity by multiplying its forms. Infinity is already full and can not be increased. But placing Jesus in the human ranks we add his incalculable grace and value to the meaning of humanity, and thus the thought of him multiplies the worth of this human world a thousand fold He is our great brother. Our powers reach upward to him along the human ascent and his powers reach down to us on the same divine and prophetic scale. No stress of a rational theologic necessity requires his transfer to the ranks of deity in any other sense than that in which humanity everywhere is a part of deity

In all great characters we read the larger fulfillment of the common prophecies that are written in the nature

of God's children everywhere. In Jesus of Nazareth we see the fulfillment of those august prophesies written in the spiritual nature of mankind Following the paths of his ascent we reach the borders of the imperishable realities, and there in those vast altitudes, amidst the fadeless splendors of an unwasting life, man discloses his transcendent worth by lifting to his regal brow the radiant crown of his own immortality.

Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 12.

VII.

UNIVERSALISM THE DOCTRINE OF THE BIBLE.

BY ALONZO AMES MINER, D. D., LL. D.

TO appeal to the Bible in regard to the highest things, is to assume that it is a fountain of wisdom, that it speaks with authority, that it is a ground of truth. In thus appealing to it, we make no apology; whatever I might say were criticism my business, I pass it now The Bible is its own justification. This appears, first, from the fact that its tone is one of self-reliance. It does not speak hesitatingly. It does not waver. Its attitude is not doubtful. It is confident, assertive, straightforward. It is like an honest witness in a court of justice. His frankness of manner, unhesitating utterances, calmness of spirit, and straightforwardness in affirmation, carry conviction to both court and jury. So the Bible speaks, as was said of Christ, as one having authority and not as the scribes.

The self-justification of the Bible appears, secondly, in its undeniable morality. It takes cognizance of sin; it recognizes the prevalence of corruption, sometimes even of abounding criminality. It rebukes individuals,

people, nations. It never excuses wrong; least of all does it justify it. It recognizes it as directly and frankly in the chosen people as among the heathen nations around them, and in the lives of the men who hold prominence among them, as among the lowly Wrong doing, in none of its forms, finds justification or excuse in its pages.

In the third place, the Bible is self-justified by its unity of doctrine. The same golden thread of truth runs through it from the beginning to the end, manifest among the early peoples in its utmost simplicity, growing in complexity as the ages go on, until it reaches in the Christian time the plane of highest spirituality. Its sixty-six books, by forty-two or forty-three different authors, have a common trend, showing that these authors do not speak of themselves. A common spirit and a common aim, largely unknown to themselves, shine through all their utterances. Misconceptions of that aim, imperfect understandings of that drift, have laid the foundation for many an error, but, as we shall presently see, on taking up any given line of inquiry, we find a uniformity of utterance and a concurrent consummation.

As the different parts of a chronometer, though constructed at great distances from each other, yet making a perfect instrument, show a common mind back of all, so the concurrence of Scripture teaching through the centuries, shows the divine mind back of and inspiring all. The divinity of that teaching is also manifest in its transcending the wisdom of the ages.

The very first word of the Bible strikes the fundamental note of all the harmonies of the universe. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." No attempt to prove the being of a God; no sugges-

tion of argument in that direction; but a bald statement, recognizing the truth intuitive in all souls, and so the foundation of all government and all religion. Such a God, creator of heaven and earth, could not fail to be the governor of what he had created. As there could be nothing in such a creation that did not spring from His hand, so there are no elements in that creation beyond his touch or control; and in the current government of the world he had made, there could not but be manifestations of himself. Conceptions of his goodness, revelations of his wisdom, manifestations of his controlling power, penetrating lessons of his whole abounding presence could not but result. The nations could not but be made aware that they were in his hands.

It is largely to this point that the government of God over the chosen people as distinguished from other nations, the detailed account of which makes the bulk of Old Testament history strongly tended, thus ingraining a sense of his being and authority into the heart of that people, and largely through them into the heart of the nations by whom they were surrounded. Thus were the convictions of experience added to the revelations of the spirit and the intuitions of the heart.

It is out of this fruitage of the divine government that David, who had himself suffered the severest discipline for his sins, burst forth in that remarkable utterance.

"O Lord, thou hast searched me, and known me. Thou knowest my down-sitting and mine up-rising, thou understandest my thought afar off. Thou compassest my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways. For there is not a word in my tongue, but lo, O Lord, thou knowest it altogether. Thou hast beset

me behind and before, and laid thine hand upon me. Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; It is high, I cannot attain unto it. Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there: If I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me. If I say, Surely the darkness shall cover me; even the night shall be light about me. Yea, the darkness hideth not from thee; but the night shineth as the day: the darkness and the light are both alike to thee." (Ps. cxxxix: 1—12.)

It is thus that the Divine Spirit embosoms all things. It is thus that the psalmist in the olden time announced the divine immanence, which the Christian world has been so slow to learn. Since God is thus immanent in all things, he cannot but be efficient in the midst of all things. As a good man cannot dwell in the midst of affairs, without exerting an influence for good in the directing of those affairs, so the God of infinite goodness cannot dwell in, and embosom all his children without effectively blessing those children Thus the government of God becomes of necessity a revelation. The record of that revelation shows first of all, his being, then his government, even the character of that government, involving the character of the divine governor himself, who is "a rewarder of all those who diligently seek him." John, in his apocalyptic vision, saw in all things the embodiment of the divine pleasure. "Thou are worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." (Rev. iv: 11.)

We learn from the record of his government what is his will, what his purpose, what his ordination. That record is both history and revelation. If God is thus immanent in all things, and if he is thus making a reve-

lation of his attributes, surely we may look into these records and catch the utterances of his servants touching his disposition and pleasure concerning his children.

From this point of view, we cannot be surprised at the continual mention of the divine goodness. It is among the most comprehensive forms of biblical statement. "He is good unto all and his tender mercies are over all his works." Without his kindly attention not a sparrow can fall to the ground. His parental watchfulness is more constant, more tender, more assured than that of a mother for her children. "She may forget, but God never will forget." We cannot be surprised at the abounding mention of the divine mercy, a term often interchangeable with goodness—by no means always referring to the forgiveness of sins, but often another mode of stating the divine love. We cannot be surprised at the wonderfully terse declaration of John: "God is love;" nor at the apostolic philosphy of spiritual causation, when he says: "We love him, because he first loved us"—a love with which we become acquainted through his providential care. Nor are these terms to be taken in abatement as though they had a different signification than they have when used among men. Rather they rise into a realm of perfection that they never reach in the dealings of man with man.

Nor does the emphasis properly given to divine justice, at all militate against these positions. Justice is the noblest of the divine attributes. In a certain sense it embraces them all. Having created all things, it is just that He should care for all things. Having created all necessities, it is but just that he should provide for those necessities. Having selected such means as are most compatible with the nature and welfare of

his children, and most compatible with his purpose to bring all to obedience, it is but just that they should reap the rewards of obedience, and suffer the consequences of disobedience day by day, like the children of an earthly father whose responsibilities are universally acknowledged. The child can properly claim such care as is fitting to the resources of the parent.

The perfect harmony of justice with the attributes of goodness, mercy and love, will be manifest when we consider its nature. The primary claim of justice is perfect and universal obedience. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, with all thy mind, with all thy strength, and thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." These commandments fulfilled, perfect justice is done. All our affections should go out to Him from whom we receive life, breath and all things. A like affection is due to our neighbor, who, like ourselves, is dependent upon that same infinite goodness. This claim of justice lies in the very nature of things. It is neither whimsical, nor arbitrary. The universe is so constituted. These two great commands obeyed, the world is at peace. All things are in equilibrium. Justice is universal.

But if we come short of rendering this perfect obedience, justice does not surrender its claim. It proceeds to secure its demands. It disciplines the disobedient, who, in their disobedience, are unjust toward either God or man. The aim of the discipline is obedience. It may take on any measure of severity compatible with that aim. It continues its discipline until every soul becomes conscious of its dereliction and turns back to the pathways of obedience, rendering finally perfect love to God, and love to man as to one's

self. This principle has no private or limited application. It is as true in heaven as in earth; in eternity as in time. In this perfect justice, we have perfect and universal obedience, and in perfect and universal obedience, perfect and universal salvation. Perfect justice, therefore, is universal salvation.

But suppose, now, that this discipline may finally fail of its aim, and that the sinner may wander farther and farther from God through vast eternity, accompanied by ever deepening woe, it is clear that justice will be defeated. To suppose that it may be satisfied with that result, is to suppose that justice can turn a somersault and rest in the very opposite of its primary demand. When, however, its original claim is secured, repentance for sin will have been reached; forgiveness will have been received, and mercy, that rejoices against judgment, will be at one with justice, rejoicing in the blessed fruits of judgment.

If these positions are well taken, it is plain that there ought to shine out all along the pathway of Scripture, the promises of God, indicative of his pleasure, his will, his purposes and his ordinations. Passing some specific prophecies to which we may allude in another connection, we call attention to certain general utterances The prophet Isaiah, using the figure so familiar to the Jews (xxv: 6–8), speaks of the mountain of the Lord's house being established in the top of the mountains, in which a feast of fat things shall be made to all people, fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees, well refined; in which the face of the covering cast over all people shall be destroyed; of the swallowing up of death in victory; the wiping away of tears from off all faces, and the taking away of the rebuke of his people from off all the earth; assuring us that the Lord hath spoken it.

The same prophet, in the beautiful rhetoric of the ancients, says:

"The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice, even with joy and singing; the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God." (xxxv: 1, 2.)

This rhetoric is resolved by the opening of the eyes of the blind; the unstopping of the ears of the deaf; the making of the lame to leap as an hart; the tongue of the dumb to sing; the parched ground to become a pool of water; and the casting up of an highway, the way of holiness, in which no lion shall be found or any ravenous beast, but in which the ransomed of the Lord shall return and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads; they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

The divine earnestness often takes on the most emphatic form:

"Look unto me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth; for I am God, and there is none else. I have sworn by myself, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return. That unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear, surely shall say in the Lord, have I righteousness and strength." (Isa. xlv: 22–24.)

So specific are God's promises that he designates his word as the immediate instrumentality by which they shall be accomplished:

"For as the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater, so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth; it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereunto I sent it." (Isa. lv: 10, 11).

Christ himself recognizes the same instrumentality: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." (John viii: 12).

Glancing on to the consummation of the moral work which God proposes among his children, the prophet Isaiah, says:

"Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind. But be ye glad and rejoice forever in that which I create, for behold I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy" (lxv: 17, 18.)

Paul says (Gal. iv:26), "The Jerusalem that is above is free." In this concurs the testimony of the Revelator:

"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea. And I (John) saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying: Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them and be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away. And he that sat upon the throne, said: Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me: Write; for these words are true and faithful. And he said unto me: It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end." (Rev. xxi 1—6.)

Among these varied and most important utterances, some, it will be observed, are direct announcements of a common destiny as the fruitage of the divine purpose; some include also the uplifting of the civilization of the nations and the general improvement of society; and all are couched in terms of such universality, all bear so broadly on the welfare of man, and all look out into the future with such limitless vision and hope as to be compatible with nothing short of Universalism itself.

Let us turn now to another point of view—a new and the most important aspect of the question. The Bible is given to man for the accomplishment of a moral work—not simply to foretell but to secure his salvation. The divine agent in the accomplishment of this work is our Lord Jesus Christ. We may expect, therefore, to find the pulse of God's purpose in Christ throughout all the Scriptures. He is, in the divine purpose, a lamb slain from the foundation of the world. He was given all power in heaven and on earth for the accomplishment of his mission. Up to this time, the government of God which primarily was outward and visible had been gradually deepening in its spirituality until Christ, the culmination of God's spirit in man, was revealed to the world. He thus becomes an object lesson to the children of men; as perfect a representation of God among men as it is possible to present; hence he is fitly termed "the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person." Holding this place, it is hardly possible that there should not be (1) prophetic allusions to him through all the ages; hardly possible that these allusions (2) should not correspond in breadth and significance to the representations that Christ himself makes touching his agency and ultimate success; and hardly possible (3) that the commentary thereon given us by his holy apostles should not present a like breadth and significance, thus making the Bible to be Christo-centric and harmonious.

What now is presented as the breadth of Christ's ministry in the world? In the very beginning we are told that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head; fatality, destruction of evil. To this corresponds Paul's conception of Christ's ministry:

"For as much then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil; and deliver them, who through fear of death, were all their life-time subject to bondage." (Hebrews ii: 14, 15.)

The patriarch Jacob prophesied, Moses declares (Genesis xlix: 18), that "the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the obedience of the people be."

This long before Judah existed as a tribe, long before Palestine was partitioned among the twelve tribes, long before the chosen people were settled in their promised land, the spirit of prophecy glanced on to the arising of the Prince of Peace, to whom, not the chosen people alone, but the people of the earth should render obedience.

So the psalmist, moved to recognize Christ as the only begotten Son of God, says:

"Ask of me and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." And again (lxxii: 8—11): "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth. They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him, and his enemies shall lick the dust. Yea, all kings shall fall down before him; all nations shall serve him." (Psalms ii: 7, 8.)

Isaiah is equally emphatic:

"Behold my servant when I uphold; mine elect in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my spirit upon him; he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench; he shall bring forth judgment unto truth. He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his law." (xlii: 1—4.)

Into what a blessed condition will mankind thus be brought, including the Gentile world and even the islands of the sea! In this Daniel agrees:

"I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom that all people, nations, and languages should serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." (vii: 13, 14.)

Such are but samples of the inspiring outlook of prophecy touching the Messiah to come. Let us now turn to the Messiah himself already come. How does he regard his mission? Though not strictly pertinent to this question, it is useful to note the declaration of the angel to Mary in Matthew i: 21: "Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins." Note, his people were sinners. Christ, it is said, shall save them from their sins. The church has vitiated this promise by its assumption that it is not until sinners shall have turned from their ways of wickedness unto righteousness that Christ will save them. The truth is when they shall have turned from sin to righteousness, they will need no salvation. They will have been therein already saved. The very essence of salvation is the recovery of man from sin unto righteousness; and to this turning unto God, Christ is to lead the way.

How does Christ himself look out upon this field of prophecy? It has been said that these are vague prophecies; that there may be mistakes in applying them all to Christ. Let it be granted. But let it be remembered at the same time that Jewish expectation of a coming Messiah had risen to the zenith. That ex-

pectation must be accounted for. If the admission of prophecy concerning him be denied, that expectation is a problem unsolved. Notice, moreover, how Christ applies the old Scriptures to himself (Matthew v: 17.) "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill." Thus he recognizes the reference of the law and the prophets in all their breadth and sweep to himself. Specifically does he apply Isaiah's prophecies to himself:

"When in Nazareth, his childhood home, as was his wont, he entered into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up to read, and there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Isaiah. And when he had opened the book, he found the place where it was written: The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he has sent me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised; to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. And he closed the book, and he gave it again to the minister and sat down. And the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened on him. And he began to say unto them, 'This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears.'" (Luke iv: 16—21.)

Nor does Christ hesitate to recognize Moses, whose sayings are so widely rejected at the present time. He says:

"Do not think that I will accuse you to the Father; there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust. For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" (John v: 45—47.)

Alluding to the death he should die, the Master says, (John xii: 32): "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me," thus justifying the saying of the heavenly host as they appeared with the

angel: "Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace, good will toward men.'

Most suggestive of all is Christ's comment on his work as it drew to a close:

"These words spake Jesus, and lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, Father, the hour is come: glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee: As thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him. And this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent. I have glorified thee on the earth: I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do." (John xvii: 1—4.)

Then follows that most tender and affectionate pleading for oneness of spirit in his disciples, that they too may be one who should believe on him through their word, that the world might believe that God had sent him. From these samples of Christ's own testimony, will it appear that his own view of the breadth of his mission was equivalent to the prophetic view as that has come before us.

It remains for us to inquire how the apostles regarded the efficiency of his ministry. Paul evidently saw a glorious liberty for the whole creation:

"For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope; because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God." (Romans viii: 20, 21.)

And so entrancing was this divine hope, notwithstanding the tribulations through which it should be reached, that he could say:

"In all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature,

shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." (Romans viii: 37—39.)

To whatever people he wrote, the same triumphant vision inspired him. Thus to the Corinthian church, he said:

"Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power. For he must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. For he hath put all things under his feet. But when he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." (I Corinthians xv: 24—28.)

He adds:

"The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly." (I Corinthians xv: 47, 48.)

Nor can he withhold the same assurances from the Ephesian church:

"Having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure, which he hath purposed in himself: that in the dispensation of the fullness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth; even in him: In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will: That we should be to the praise of his glory, who first trusted in Christ." (Ephesians i: 9—12.)

In like manner were gladdened the hearts of the saints of Phillippi. Referring to Jesus humbling himself and becoming obedient unto death, even the shameful death of the cross, he says:

"Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord" (ruler) "to the glory of God the Father." (Phillipians ii: 9—11.)

To the chosen people, he brought the joy of a new and better convenant:

"Behold the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah: Not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; because they continued not in my covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord. For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people: And they shall not teach every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying know the Lord: for all shall know me, from the least even unto the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more." (Hebrews viii: 8–12.)

The apostle John notes an especial grace in the clear view we shall at length have of the Father:

"Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is." (I John iii: 2.)

In his vision from Patmos, his statement of the divine fullness becomes still more specific:

"And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying with a loud voice: Worthy is the lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing. And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in

the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying: Blessing and honor and glory and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the lamb for ever and ever." (Rev. v: 11—13.)

This ascription of thanksgiving and honor by every creature unto the lamb shows every creature saved through the ministry of the lamb To what greater height could the sublimity of Christian hope arise, and what more complete assurance of the universality of the blessings flowing to mankind through the mission of Christ could be given, than is presented in this threefold joint testimony (1) of the prophets of the olden time, (2) of Christ in speaking of his own ministry, and (3) of the holy apostles in their comments thereon. No wonder that Paul was enraptured with the grandeur of this vision. No wonder that the transcendency of divine mercy should lead him to declare: "God hath concluded them all (both Jew and Gentile) in unbelief that he might have mercy upon all." No wonder that he should burst forth in rapturous exclamation:

"O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or, who hath been his counsellor? Or who hath first given to him and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him, and through him, and to him are all things; to whom be glory forever. Amen." (Romans xi: 33—36.)

Such is the divine conception and purpose of Christ's ministry; toward this end is that ministry progressing; in this fulness of redemption shall that ministry be consummated. Either love upon the throne and wrath subordinate, when Universalism results, or wrath upon the throne and love subordinate, when the devil will be supreme.

Rightly understood, there is nothing in the entire Scriptures to conflict herewith. Men talk of law and

sin and penalty. Grave subjects, indeed, and easily perverted. We associate the law with Sinai, and with thunderings and lightnings; judgments with another world, a great white throne, and everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels. But the psalmist says:

"The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart; the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes. The fear of the Lord is clean, enduring forever; the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. More to be desired are they than gold, yea than much fine gold; sweeter also than honey and the honey comb. Moreover, by them is thy servant warned; and in keeping of them there is great reward." (Psalms xix: 7—11.)

The Saviour says: "For judgment am I come into this world;" that is, he comes "to set judgment in the earth." Again, he says: "Now is the judgment of this world." The woes of great social sins, like the sin of slavery in our country, are cumulative; hence often delayed in part, only to burst the more violently upon the nation at large

Through the thousands of years of the government of God, of which the older Scriptures contain the records, his judgments are visible and temporal, though often severe, resulting in the overthrow of individuals, peoples and nations; but in no case pursuing them, or hinting that they will be pursued, beyond the destruction that lands them in the grave. The decisions of the court throw light upon the law.

Dr. Campbell, a Scotch Presbyterian divine, a half century ago, affirmed that the Old Testament maintained the most profound silence with regard to the state of the dead, their joys or sorrows, their happiness or misery To-day not a scholar on either side of

the Atlantic will deny this. True, in King James's version, the Hebrew word which is translated three times pit and 29 times grave, is translated 32 times hell. This last, Christians have worked with great diligence. Yet the term "hell" as a place of woe is now swept from the Old Testament, not by the hand of Universalists, but by the action of those who professedly still believe in a fearful doom for a part of mankind; and the Hebrew term is left untranslated, signifying simply the state of the dead. There is but a single exception to this statement. Isaiah portrays the deliverance of Israel from the power of Babylon and represents the oppressive king as a fallen Lucifer:

> "Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming: it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth." (Isaiah xiv: 9.)

The retention of the word occuring twice in this connection is apologized for on the ground that it cannot be understood to mean a place of punishment. That the original Hebrew word was not left untranslated here as elsewhere, is a reproach to the good sense of the revisers. Hence, the greatly overworked declaration of the psalmist (ix: 17.): "The wicked shall be turned into hell with all the nations that forget God," will be no longer available in support of a doctrine which has always been the reproach of Christendom.

The new aspect thus given to the ancient Scriptures cannot fail to lead to a more careful scrutiny of the New Testament teachings. The whole realm of rhetoric, whether of "wrath," or "fire," or "smoke of their torments," or "bottomless pit," or "outer darkness," or "undying worm," or "unquenchable fire," must be resolved into its true figurative meaning, expressive of

the unrest of sin and the inevitable and inherent woes of the trangressor. Even the "undying worm of Gehenna," employed by the Saviour himself, must be seen to rest on the well-known historic facts connected with the valley of the son of Hinnom. That the term Gehenna cannot refer to a place of woe in the coming world, is shown by the fact that it is not once employed in the fourth gospel, nor in the Acts of the Apostles, nor in any of the Epistles of Paul, or Peter, or John, nor in Revelations, and but once by the apostle James, and that in a connection which precludes such a meaning:

"The tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity; so is the tongue among our members that it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature; and it is set on fire of hell." (James iii: 6.)

Were this term so vitally important as much Christian teaching would make it, it is impossible to suppose that it would have been over-looked in this manner.

Let it not be assumed from this, that the Scriptures are silent on the subject of retribution. Everywhere they link obedience to blessedness and trangression to woe. This connection is immediate and final. Everywhere the teaching is "great peace have they that love thy law and nothing shall offend them." On the other hand, "the wicked are like the troubled sea when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt." The beatitudes link spiritual good to righteousness; and the apostle Paul declares that "tribulation and anguish, indignation and wrath is upon every soul of man that doeth evil, but glory, honor and peace upon every soul that worketh good."

Few, if any Scriptures bring us nearer to the spirit-

ual elements of the divine government than does the teaching of Solomon:

"Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding. For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver and the gain thereof than fine gold. She is more precious than rubies; and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her. Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace. She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her, and happy is every one that retaineth her." (Proverbs iii: 13—18.)

It is not declared that wisdom is simply the best thing, better than silver or gold, or precious stones, but better than all things else. "All the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her." In this truth is involved the essential of retribution. Wisdom is the highest blessing the obedient soul can know. Man seeks no reward for its possession; it cannot be rewarded; itself is the highest heaven. To miss this good is the greatest possible loss. Over against this blessed state lies that of the foolish and disobedient—as deeply cursed as the wise are greatly blessed. Wisdom, therefore, is the principal thing. No wonder that we are exhorted with all our gettings to get wisdom.

Thus have we seen that the Bible is its own justification. It teaches us the divine immanence. As a record of God's government, and of the inspiration of his servants, it is a revelation of his character, his attributes, his will, his purpose, his ordinations. In both Old Testament and New, there shine out prophecies justifying the declaration that God is love; that he is good unto all and that his tender mercies are over all his works; that through the general record of God's government runs the golden thread of God's purpose of universal redemption in Christ. The breadth and

universality (1) of the prophecies concerning him, (2) of his own exposition of his ministry, and (3) of the apostolic commentary thereon, exhibit a unity of doctrine which shows the one divine mind behind all the ages. We have seen also that the character of the divine government, the proper exposition of the rhetoric of retribution, and the inherent and spiritual nature of divine rewards and punishments, are perfectly concurrent with the breadth, fulness and glory of Christ's success in the ultimate salvation of the whole world.

Presentation Day, Hall of Washington, Sept. 15.

VIII.

INTELLECT, ASPIRATIONS AND SENTIMENTS OF MAN

Imply a Common Destiny of Good.

BY JOSEPH SMITH DODGE, D. D.

THE material world is the object upon which the intellect of man exercises itself with the most certain and fruitful results; and it is therefore the field in which we may best begin any study of intellectual operations. When the researches of physical science were in their infancy, they consisted mainly in ascertaining and grasping the facts of nature; but the human mind has long since busied itself with a broader survey, trying to enlarge the groups of its knowledge, to bring them into relation with each other, and to feel after some vast arrangement which shall unite the whole physical universe in one. All the great generalizations of modern science look in this direction—the conservation of force, the evolutionary philosophy, the interdependence of all fields of research—so that in the back ground of most scientific thinking lurks the unacknowledged but growing assumption that the uni-

verse is one vast organism with no incongruous and no superfluous parts.

The same thing, too, is beginning to present itself in the social world, although it is far less advanced. Lines of tendency are half discovered running through history, which point this way. The rapid changes of the last century or two are all toward the removal of barriers between races, nations and castes, and with each removal those that remain are more clearly seen to be doomed; so that governments, laws, social customs, industries, art, and a hundred less conspicuous elements are fast losing their local peculiarities and striving toward common types. It needs no great stretch of imagination to foresee the day when a man may travel from end to end of the civilized world with little sense of change.

This tendency toward social conformity, therefore, like the evident oneness of the natural world, may be considered as the necessary order of things which seems new to us only because we have had to get rid of obstacles that prevented our seeing it. And what makes this pertinent to our argument is that it all comes about without any shock to the mind or any sense of abruptness. Rather, the mind accepts it as part of the natural order of things; and the new faculties or customs so rapidly grow familiar that one is surprised at remembering how recent is the change.

But the easy acceptance of these discoveries argues that the mind of man was already fitted to receive them; and many facts illustrate this view. For instance, it requires minds of the highest order to discover the great laws of nature or of social life, but when they are discovered and investigated so that the greater minds understand them, then the process be-

gins and goes rapidly forward of teaching these results to the general mind. And so rapidly do those receive who could never have discovered, that it is a commonplace to observe how the school boy of today is far more learned than his grandfather was in his prime. Nor is this only true of minds which may be thought to have inherited an aptitude for such studies. On the contrary, young men of many races which have never entered upon these paths of knowledge, acquire with ease the teachings of science, and are entirely at home in the new views.

Now these considerations sufficiently show two things: first, a correspondence between the knowing mind and the universe as an object of knowledge; and secondly, an innate tendency of the mind to seek universal harmony among the objects of its study, with an intrinsic fitness in those objects to gratify more and more this tendency of the mind.

If this paper were of unlimited extent, it would be next in order to set forth the argument for believing that a supreme intelligence has created and governs both man and his surroundings. But this, in the present instance, may be taken for granted, and we have only to translate the terms of general observation into those of Christian belief. We have, therefore, the spectacle of God's children in God's world, each created with a perfect aptitude for the other. Confining ourselves for the present to the intellect of man, we find it from the first capable of investigating the phenomena which surround it, while these phenomena are obviously designed to catch the attention and reward the efforts of the mind.

Next, we see the mind, strengthened by this exercise, endeavoring to penetrate below the surface of

things and find under it law and meaning, while again the creation of God responds with new depth and answering voices. Finally we see how the mind, heightened and broadened by its vast acquisitions, impatient of scattered details and fragmentary facts, puts forth its energy of conception and strives to grasp all things as one; and again we see that the world, so long misunderstood, at last grows luminous with the surmise, if not yet with the demonstration, that God has placed man in a cosmos of universal harmony and order.

Now it is true that science does not yet fully prove this of the natural, and still less of the social world. But it is equally true that the human intellect has caught the splendor of such a coming revelation, and will not rest content till all is plain. No scheme of God's creation which presupposes a permanent discord, which offers as its best in any field of study mere aggregate parts, a mass without a harmony, can any longer satisfy the human mind. Looking at God's work objectively, without thought of any concern beyond that of a spectator, we are driven by the constitution of our minds, and by their advanced development, to believe in and look for the final consummation.

II. The mere spectator's view, however, does not long satisfy a man. There are inward impulses which assure him that he has more than the interest of an onlooker, and drive him to take a voluntary part in the great process. He has aspirations; that is, he sees himself imperfect, he finds his adjustment to his surroundings unsatisfactory, he is sure that both for himself and for his position improvement is possible; and he cannot rest till he has begun to strive for better things But the curious experience follows that these aspirations are insatiable. We may confine ourselves for

the moment to that dissatisfaction with one's own character which includes many phases, from a profound sense of sin to an assured expectation of spiritual growth. No matter at what stage, or on what side we investigate, every soul not sunk in lethargy has some ideal of better spiritual things for which it longs. To attain one aim is only to find another waiting; for, modest as the first hope may be, it is only the germ of other developments in endless sequence.

Each of us can verify this from his own experience, but one must not imagine that it is different with others. Indeed, the labors of missionaries among savage races, and of workers in the slums at home, have given us of later years abundant data for believing that all men, however uncultivated, and however base, retain as part of their native constitution, an inextinguishable capacity of desiring better things. So that intelligent Christians no longer recognize any class or any condition of men as unfit for or unable to respond to the Gospel appeal; while all are agreed that the first requisite for enlightenment or reformation is to awaken this dormant aspiration and stimulate it with the divine assurance that "whosoever will may come."

But another familiar fact must be joined with this. No soul aspires after true excellence selfishly. As surely as the desire is really awakened and as soon as a little progress has demonstrated what may be achieved, comes the twin desire to impart to others. This is part of the social instinct. It is true of every advance which man feels to be a real gain for his higher nature, whether it relates to health or learning, to invention, art, or morals; and it is strongest of all in the domain of spiritual life. We may therefore lay it down as a general law that all men are capable of,

and most men experience a desire for, the improvement first of themselves, and then of their neighbors. The facts of life do not permit us to think of any point of spiritual rest and final contentment. Each new attainment of excellence brings new ideals for oneself and new eagerness to spread the divine kingdom.

Theological systems, it is true, have fabled a tendency to the segregation of the wicked and the good, each preferring to herd with his kind, or even an ultimate state of blessed virtue which shall look with complacency on the lost condition of the wicked. But all this is closet speculation. When the appeal is made to the facts of life it is found that virtue yearns towards the evil, and will rather forego the companionship of its like than cease to seek the lost; while the perfection of human excellence, the Son of God, came and abides among us that he might be the sinner's friend.

And experience shows that these aspirations accomplish their purpose. Of course many desires fail, many reforms relapse; the cry of suffering souls testifies to much sin against both light and expectation. But the fact of innumerable successes remains; and the best evidence is that those who know most of this field of endeavor are the last to be discouraged. No depth of sin or wretchedness is found which was not fully equalled by the gulf out of which some soul has come triumphant. The closet theologians picture a hopeless lost state of sin; but the helpers of men from Christ till now have refused to believe them, have sought and saved the lost.

There is therefore a vital and permanent correspondence between the aspirations of good men and the possibilities with which God has endowed the race; so

that with this view it is impossible to conceive any other outcome of the world's unceasing struggle than that the desires of the best and the wisest shall be fulfilled. In proportion as we are conformed to the image of the Lord the promise made to him grows precious and sure to us: "He shall see of the travail of his soul and shall be satisfied."

III. It has been been very much the custom to leave sentiment out of the account in theological discussions, as a disturbing element where reason should rule. And yet it has never been shown that reason is more qualified than sentiment to discover the truth about human relations. In fact, sentiment dominates a large part of all lives. If all the souls which cold reason has won from sin to righteousness, or all the deeds well done at the call of reason, should be confronted with the trophies of sentiment on the same fields, reason's boast would be small, indeed. It may, in fact, be doubted whether the human race could be held back from headlong ruin if there were no restraining power but reason. On the other hand the bonds and the effects of sentiment are endless. Most of the true heroism and a great part of the common-place virtues of human life are due to sentiment which attaches definitely to some person or group of persons; so that we may confidently say the extinction of such affection would have made the good deeds impossible. And when we consider that this affection is generally reciprocated, so that the person who seems to inspire to virtue may in turn receive a similar inspiration from the other, and that each of the pair has other similar relations, there comes into view a network of sympathies which has no bounds but those of the human race.

But it is not only as an incentive to worthy acts that affection exalts the man. The fact of loving and being loved ennobles the soul. It surrounds one with an atmosphere especially favorable to high development. Of this no possible doubt can exist. The experience of family life, of friendship, of Christian fellowship, and also the experience of reformers and teachers, all make certain the claim that worthy affection powerfully uplifts the soul.

Now all this puts an end to any thought of individual destiny as complete in itself. To cut off this far-reaching and powerful source of virtue would be to reverse the divine plan; it would throw us back upon the law which, addressed to each alone, was long ago proved "weak through the flesh," and rob us of the Gospel's victory through the constraining love of Christ and the fellowship of brethren. No man is or ever was strong enough to prosecute the Christian career without the helping environment of divine and human love. He needs, absolutely needs, both to give and to receive. It is the predestined respiration of the soul in the atmosphere of love, without which it cannot live. And since, as we have seen, the network of mutual sympathy includes every person, none can be sundered from the rest without leaving a vacant place and grieved hearts. At the farthest, if there be a soul who loves none and whom none of the sons of men love, yet for him, too, Christ died, and over him the Father yearns. In this view, the destinies of the race can no more be separated than a single man can be divided between heaven and hell.

Now, the church has largely lost this idea because she has neglected sentiment in her reasonings, and has held to logic though the heart-strings snapped. But

when sentiment is restored to that legitimate authority which the experience of life accords it, when the doctrines of the Gospel are seen to be revealed anew in every day's experience, then it will be understood that the bond which unites in one the present fortunes and the final destiny of men, is love.

A paper so short as this cannot aim to do more than suggest trains of thought which it has not space fully to prosecute. The intellect, the aspirations, and the sentiments do not constitute, it is true, but they may fairly represent, the spiritual constitution of men. And since we have found that each increasingly demands some scheme of human well-being which shall include the entire race, while each is met by a corresponding capacity of human development, we may conclude that the divine wisdom which created and rules mankind has in this way made known the end towards which it works—the universal blessedness of man.

Read in Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 12.

IX.

UNIVERSALISM THE DOCTRINE OF NATURE.

BY EDWIN CHAPIN SWEETSER, D. D.

Theme: "Science indicates the unity of forces; hence the unity of Final Cause; manifested in the progress of knowledge; industrial, commercial and international relationships also indicate the brotherhood of man."

THAT Universalism is the doctrine of nature could never before have been maintained with so much reason as now; for never before were the facts of nature so extensively known or so well understood. Indeed, nature has been mostly a sealed book until recently. Only within the present century have even the most learned men attained to such a knowledge of it as to enable them to tell what its teachings are in regard to man's relative place in the universe, his origin, tendencies, and ultimate destiny. Until the time of Copernicus, not only was the earth regarded as the center of the universe, but there was a prevalent belief that nature was inhabited by discordant forces, many of which were hostile to the welfare of man. By most of the ancients, what we call the forces of nature were either supposed to be personal spirits, or to be under the control of a

variety of such spirits, some good and some bad, who operated accordingly. In the imagination of mankind the universe was parceled out among gods many and lords many, some greater and some less, some kindly disposed and some unkindly, and all subject to variations of mood and of action, so that nothing could be predicted of them with very much certainty. Some of them were thought to have their abode in the sky, some in the air, some in the earth, and some in a vast underground place of the dead; and each of them was supposed to have something to do, according to his own disposition and ability, in producing the diverse phenomena of nature.

Even among Christian nations, though natural forces were not deified, nor were polytheistic ideas entertained, yet until a very modern period there was a general belief that an evil power, as well as a good one, was operative in nature. Storms, tornadoes, floods and earthquakes were attributed sometimes to the wrath of God, and sometimes to the malice of the devil, who was supposed to control legions of subordinate devils and to have a power over nature second only to that of God, against whom he was supposed to be constantly scheming and contending for possession of the souls of mankind.

Such conceptions were inevitable as long as people had no means of knowing what nature's forces really are, or how they are related to one another, and to the life of mankind. They interpreted its phenomena in a childish way because they had no other way. Even yet such conceptions are not fully abolished. There are still many people, even in the most civilized countries, who assume that in nature there is a devilish element which is contrary to God's law and to the welfare of

men. It is not to be wondered at that, with such a belief, they should hold that the destiny of a part of mankind will be determined by the power which that element indicates. Belief in a divided destiny for the human race is a logical concomitant of that theory of nature which fills it with discordant powers, or which regards it as a field of war between two great supernatural powers, one good and one evil, each striving to possess mankind.

But within the last century, and especially within the last half century, there has been much running to and fro, and knowledge of nature has been so greatly increased, that such conceptions in regard to it are no longer tenable. The great progress of scientific studies has made it impossible for well-educated people to entertain the old cosmography, or the old belief in regard to nature's forces. In this respect it may be truly said that old things have passed away and all things have become new. People of the present day do not live in the universe of Homer or of Dante. We have found out that we live in a much larger domain than the people of former ages dreamed of, and that this world, though much smaller in comparison with the rest of the universe, is much more orderly and better governed than they supposed it to be.

Modern science has turned its search-lights in every direction, and has revealed to us a new heaven and a new earth wherein there is omnipresent law, and in which the human race has a very different standing from that which was attributed to it under the old imaginary arrangement of things. It has swept the sky with its telescopes, and has shown us that this world, instead of being the central body and principal part of the universe, is only a small part of the solar system,

which itself is but a part of a larger system and of a system of systems of infinite magnitude and inconceivable complexity, all of which is regulated in accordance with a plan whose harmoniousness and beauty are wonderful and admirable beyond all compare.

It has illuminated the dark places upon the earth's surface, and has shown us that, instead of being the hiding places of demons, fairies, sprites and witches, they are the abode of the same beneficent forces which prevail in the smiling valley, the field, and the garden. It has shown us the real causes of tornadoes and earthquakes and all such phenomena, tracing them not to any sort of malevolent influence, but to a balancing of nature's forces whereby "all nature's difference keeps all nature's peace." And, investigating the earth's interior, it has found there no Avernus, no Inferno, no place of torment, no abode of rebellious angels or of departed souls of wicked men, but, contrariwise, a succession of strata containing fossil remains which indicate very plainly that in the long process of creation, covering thousands of ages, there has been a steady progress from the lowest forms of organic life to higher and still higher forms, all tending towards and resulting in the existence of the human race, for whose coming and perpetuation and further development all things else, from the very beginning, are seen to have been preparatory.

Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that all things else in the solar system are subordinate to the existence and welfare of man. For, small though it is, in comparison with the sun, or even in comparison with some of the planets, this earth is probably the only part of the solar system in which organic life exists—the only part, at all events, in which human beings live or could live.

Such are the conditions on which man's life depends, as to temperature and sustenance, that only in this particular part of the visible universe could he have come into existence, since only here, at just this distance from the sun, are the necessary conditions found. Here, on this earth, after countless ages of preparation, during which the solar system was evolved out of chaos, organic life was introduced; and after countless ages more man appeared, the crowning work, the highest creature, for whom all else had been preliminary.

Such is the teaching of modern science; such the view of nature and of man's relation thereto to which we have been brought by the progress of knowledge. It shows us that man lives in a vast orderly universe, and that he is related to the realm of nature as a choice fruit to the garden from whose long cultivation it has finally resulted. As Humboldt says: "The finest fruit earth holds up to its maker is a man." And this is true of man as man, not merely of the best of men. Human nature, wherever found, exhibits the essential qualities of that marvelous fruitage. That there is a great difference between some men and others is too evident to be denied; but "a man's a man for a' that," and every man is a possessor, in common with every other man, of a nature which is far superior to anything else which nature shows, and for the production of which the various stages of creation were evidently preparatory—whether or not we accept the Darwinian theory. In regard to the rank of man as man, with reference to the remainder of creation, modern science leaves no room for doubt. It places him at the summit. It exhibits him as the principal object for whose production nature's processes have been carried on since nature itself began to be—man, "the heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time."

Moreover, to anyone who accepts the evidence of intelligent design in nature, science leaves no room for doubt that its processes are carried on by a single mind with a single purpose. For not only does it give no confirmation to the theory that evil spirits have control of some of nature's forces and are the cause of a part of its phenomena, but it finds that in reality there is only one force in the universe, all apparently different forces being different phases of that one force, resolvable into one another under certain circumstances. Light, heat, motion, electricity, magnetism and chemical affinity—all the forces of nature of which we have any knowledge—are now known to be mutually convertible and to represent in different forms one constant, indestructible energy which can be neither increased nor diminished in anywise.

Among all of the wonderful discoveries which science has made in modern times there is none more profound than that of the correlation and conservation of forces, and none more far-reaching in what it implies with reference to the destiny of mankind. For it negatives the supposition that there are two or more great spiritual powers dividing the dominion of the universe between them. It excludes all polytheistic or dualistic conceptions of the origin and government of the existing order of things. It allows but one creator, one ruler, one governor, one source of all energy, one great first cause, of whom and through whom and to whom are all things.

What, then, is it reasonable to conclude from these premises? Since a scientific study of nature shows us that there is only one ultimate force in the universe, which under various manifestations was working for countless ages to prepare the way for man's advent,

and is still working to maintain his existence and welfare, what is likely to be the outcome so far as man is concerned? What can we reasonably forecast as the issue of that "one increasing purpose which through the ages runs?" Does not unity of force imply unity of final cause? Does not the fact that the author of that force made such vast and long-continued and wonderful preparation for the existence of mankind point plainly to his intention to carry on the great work till the race, thus created, shall have come to perfection? Is it reasonable to suppose that he has created mankind, his crowning work of all the ages, either to annihilate them, or to keep any of them in a state of imperfection forever, or to make the existence of any of them an everlasting evil to them? Has God done all this work for naught? Has he taken so much time and such infinite pains to produce a race of human beings with an intellectual and moral nature which is evidently capable of far greater development, and will he not complete the project? Shall he "bring to the birth and not cause to bring forth?" Or shall he, after so much and so wise preparation, bring forth as the final result of it all a discordant humanity, a race divided against itself, part saved and part lost, part good and part evil, part happy in heaven and part wretched in hell?

Nature contains no intimation of such a dreadful fiasco. Its indications all point to one destiny for mankind—a glorious destiny, in which every man shall be perfect. It is like a vast workshop in which various forces are employed to produce a certain kind of article, of which multitudes may there be seen in different stages of construction. Going into such a factory, an ignorant man might take it to be a place of confu-

sion. Its complicated machinery, its diverse motions, its jarring sounds, and its unfinished materials might seem to him to indicate that there was no unity of purpose there, and that nothing perfect could be produced there. But to an intelligent observer such a factory tells a very different story. To him it speaks of one master mind directing all of its complex forces, and directing them all to a uniform end. In the midst of its complexity, he sees a single, steadfast purpose to produce a definite number of finished articles, each one like a perfect model, which is the standard toward which all of its energy is directed. He cannot believe that the master mind, which created the factory and which directs all of its movements, is intent on producing unfinished articles, or articles which are meant to be thrown away or destroyed either before or after their completion. Reason forbids him to entertain such a theory. Everything in the factory, from the firmly laid foundation walls to the model in the model room, indicates an intention on the part of the controlling mind to produce permanent copies of the finished article, to be put to an appropriate use in the world He is forced to believe that the unfinished articles which he sees in the place are intended to be carried on to perfection, and that finally all of them will conform to the model, to a perfect idea in the mind of him who designed them.

Even so in the realm of nature; he who rightly reads its indications, in the light which science throws upon them, can draw no conclusion other than this—that all men, however imperfect at present, are divinely intended for perfection, and that sometime they will be conformed to the image of that perfect man, the Son of God, in whom, as the Scripture says, all things con-

sist—hold together, that is, and find their meaning. From the primal star dust out of which the worlds were made, through every stage of the incalculably long process by which the earth attained its present form and humanity came to be what it now is, everything, if taken with due regard to its connections, points to a uniformly glorious estate for mankind, indicating that God's purpose is to make every human being Christ-like. Omar Khayyam, the astronomer-poet of Persia, has expressed this idea in the parable of the potter's vessels which he has introduced into his great poem, the Rubaiyat. The vessels in a potter's house are represented as conversing with one another with reference to their probable destiny.

> "Said one among them—'Surely not in vain
> My substance of the common earth was ta'en
> And to this figure moulded, to be broke,
> Or trampled back to shapeless earth again.'
>
> "Then said a second—'Ne'er a peevish boy
> Would break the cup from which he drank in joy:
> And he that with his hand the vessel made
> Will surely not in after wrath destroy.'
>
> "'Why', said another—'Some there are who tell
> Of one who threatens he will toss to hell
> The luckless pots he marred in making—Pish!
> He's a good fellow, and 'twill all be well'."

In different phrase, and with greater reverence, Isaiah expressed the same view of the matter when he wrote: "Thus saith the Lord, the holy one of Israel and his maker: Ask me of the things that are to come; concerning my sons, and concerning the work of my hands, command ye me. I have made the earth and created man upon it: I, even my hands, have stretched out the heavens and all their host have I commanded. There is no God else beside me. Look unto me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth; for I am God,

and there is none else. By myself have I sworn, the word is gone forth from my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear. Only in the Lord, shall one say unto me, is righteousness and strength; even to him shall men come, and all they that were incensed against him shall be ashamed." Never before, as in these days, could the full force of this language be understood by mankind. Never before could they see in nature such evidences of God's unity and of his purpose that all men shall be saved. Nature, in the light of modern science, teaches by irresistible implication, in a most wonderful manner and with an astonishing wealth of illustration, what religious inspiration teaches —that there is but one fount of energy in all the vast universe, one Supreme Being who stretched out the heavens, and made the earth, and created man upon it as the chief work of his hands; and that his purpose regarding every man is to continue his development unto a state of perfection, of righteousness and peace and joy, in which all alike shall glorify his wisdom, justice, power and love.

Moreover, not only does science thus indicate that all mankind will finally attain to a condition of perfectness, but industrial, commercial, and international relationships are making it clearer, year by year, that all mankind form one great body, one brotherhood of human souls; with mutual duties and common interests so interwoven that no man's destiny can be separated entirely from that of the rest of the race.

In former times, when each tribe and nation lived by itself, having but little intercourse with others— when means of communication were but scanty between widely distant parts of the earth, and the arts

and sciences of the present age had not even been dreamed of—it was impossible that men should realize, as they are now rapidly coming to, their oneness of nature, their community of interests, and their dependence upon one another for the welfare of all. Then, in their ignorance, the people of different tribes and nations supposed that they sprang from entirely different origins, and that their interests were contradictory. They assumed that their proper relation to one another was either one of hostility or of well-guarded neutrality. The same Latin word, *hostis*, meant a foreigner and an enemy. Warfare between nations was the general rule, and the greatest fighters were the men who received the most praise. There is still far too much of that mistaken belief and injurious feeling. But steadily and rapidly it is passing away Mankind, the world over, are being taught by experience the great truth which the Christian religion affirms, that all men belong to one stock and one family, and are members one of another, being bound to one another, not only by a common nature which all alike receive from God, but by indissoluble ties of a social and sympathetic order which are steadily becoming stronger among all classes of people, and which must continue to do so until the whole vast human body shall be animated by one spirit, so that if one member suffer all the members will suffer with it, and no man can be fully saved unless all other men are saved.

The solidarity of mankind is a fact which is becoming increasingly evident. Science is reaffirming the Biblical truth that all men have a common origin, and the progress of events is proving that they are tending towards a common destiny.

What an object lesson in that respect the World's

Columbian Exposition offers! Here we have people from all parts of the world, of diverse tongues and diverse races, bringing with them their diverse products—yet in all of this complexity what order and unity! What fraternity of interests, what interdependence, what mutual helpfulness! From east and west and north and south, men whose ancestors scarcely knew of one another's existence, or who regarded one another with distrust and aversion, are here as one family, each bringing something which contributes to the common welfare, and each having a language which, however strange it may sound to the ears of the others, is translatable into that of any one of the others, representing the same thoughts and affections and purposes. Underneath all the differences which are here represented there is a deeper and more abiding unity, a oneness of nature, a community of interests, in which each person participates and to the wholeness of which every person is necessary.

So in the great outlying world which the Exposition epitomizes. Each nation, each class, each individual contributes something to humanity which affects favorably or unfavorably the welfare of all. There is scarcely a house in any civilized country where products of all parts of the world are not found; and the more civilized the race becomes, the more dependent each member is, not only upon other members, but upon an ever enlarging number of them, for his own comfort and progress. The savage provides for his own wants, almost if not entirely without any assistance. He makes his own bow and arrow, his own hut, his own garments, and kills and cooks his own food. But the civilized man of modern times cannot even be

comfortable without the co-operation of vast numbers of men in different parts of the world. Without their assistance he cannot carry on his industrial enterprises, nor can he even dine as he desires to without having on his table the results of their labor. Co-operation is becoming more and more general, and more and more a necessity. Let any class in society become hostile or disaffected towards the rest of society, or even fail to do its part in the work of society, and the results are more and more disastrous. The rest of society, for the protection of its own interests, must seek to rectify the condition of that which is inharmonious and productive of evil. Otherwise the evil spreads and involves all in its deplorable consequences sooner or later Like the cholera, which, originating in some obscure corner of the earth among the most degraded classes, is soon carried abroad from man to man, and from land to land, until none, however high, are entirely safe from it, so every kind of evil which exists among men has a tendency to spread its malevolent influence, and unless it is exterminated it will involve the whole race more or less in its miseries.

The more civilized mankind become, the more actively and noticeably this principle operates. Civilization carries evils as well as blessings in its train. As cities grow in wealth and numbers, in the cultivation of the arts and sciences, and in that complexity of organization which characterizes municipalities nowadays, their slums become more of a menace to them. As the whole world advances in respect to those matters by which man's welfare is promoted, it becomes less and less possible for any part of society to cut itself off from the rest of society, or to separate its own interests. As the eye of a man's body cannot say to the ear,

I have no need of thee, nor the head to the feet I have no need of you, so in the great body of humanity of which all men are members, no person, however superior to some others in intelligence or in goodness, can divorce himself from them or prevent his own condition from being affected by theirs.

So we find that as civilization advances, and mankind are drawn closer to one another in commercial, industrial and international relationships, there is a corresponding increase of sympathy and of charitable, reformatory, and missionary work on the part of the more favored classes towards those who are more ignorant and degraded and sinful. There is a growing recognition, in practical ways, of the fact that humanity is one body, and that salvation is to be secured by any portion thereof not by a policy of exclusiveness and selfishness, but by one of unselfishness and mutual helpfulness. It is coming to be felt with increasing intensity that the more ignorant and sinful any portion of the race may be, the more need there is for all concerned that it should be helped and uplifted and redeemed from its wretchedness and made to minister to the common welfare, lest it work more and more to the common injury. Slum life must not be permitted. Barbarism must be banished. Ignorance must be supplanted. Vice of all descriptions must be driven out of existence. Social science necessitates this Christian conclusion; and none the less for mankind in the future life than in the life that now is; none the less in the spirit world than here upon earth—rather the more so, because there the process of development will have carried mankind still further forward in respect to complexity of organization, interdependence of members, and mutual influence.

It is impossible, in view of the solidarity of mankind, and the great truths which are taught by social science, that one part of the human race should be perfectly saved and everlastingly happy and that another part should be irremediably lost and forever unhappy —as impossible as that a house should stand while divided against itself, or that a person's head should be happy while some of his other members are being subjected to unspeakable torment. The inhabitants of heaven cannot live selfishly. They could not, if they would, cut off their own fortune from that of the rest of mankind. All must eventually be saved if any are to be completely saved. All must become partakers of a universal condition of holiness and happiness, or none can escape from some consciousness of loss and some degree of unhappiness. There can be no everlasting slums, no state of endless sin and woe, if there is to be anywhere a perfect heaven for any of the sons of men. The solidarity of mankind forbids such a division. Social science negatives it, and requires that all men shall at last come to perfection.

Equally, then, by those teachings of nature which indicate that, from the beginning, the Author of the human race has designed its ultimate perfection, and by those which indicate the unity which binds its members together, we are led to the conclusion that it can have but one destiny, a destiny befitting its heavenly origin, a destiny worthy of the children of God. That destiny will not be accomplished till all shall have come to a perfect manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ.

Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 12.

X.

UNIVERSAL RESTORATION

*The Doctrine of the First Five Centuries.**

BY JOHN WESLEY HANSON, D. D.

THE earliest of the Christian writings after those of the apostles do not dwell on questions of eschatology. They are chiefly occupied with our Lord's advent and its blessings to the world. Most of the documents that survive are hortatory. It was an age of apologetics, not of polemics. A much prejudiced writer[1] concedes that the first Christians "touched but lightly and incidentally on points of doctrine," but presented "the doctrines of Christianity in the very words of Scripture, giving us often no certain clue to their interpretations of the language." The earliest creeds are silent as to the duration of punishment, but only declare its certainty.[2] We should, therefore, understand the earlier writers as they are subsequently interpreted by those who were the first to explain Scriptural terms, and who defined the doctrines of the Gospel as the primitive Christians understood them.

*The notes to which the figures in this chapter refer may be found in the Appendix.

One consideration is important: Irenaeus (A. D. 120—202),[3] and Hippolytus (A. D. 220),[4] wrote works refuting all the known heresies of their times. Universal restoration is not named among those heresies, although at that time the *Sibylline Oracles*, which avows the doctrine, was cherished by all Christians, and ranked but little below the Bible in the general opinion.

When our Lord spoke, and his immediate followers taught, the doctrine of unending punishment was generally held by the outside world. Many of the pagans accepted it,—the wisest of them admitting it to be a heathen invention,—and, though not taught in the Old Testament, the Jews had imbibed it from pagan sources, chiefly during the Babylonish captivity, and strenuously taught it.[5] Josephus informs us[6] that the Pharisees inculcated it, but our Lord and his earlier followers never employed the terms by which the Jews and pagans declared the dogma. The Christian writers employed *aionios*, meaning indefinite but limited duration, and *kolasin*, denoting chastisement resulting in reformation, to describe the nature and duration of punishment, while the Jews and pagans used *aidios* and *adialeiptos* meaning eternal, and *eirgmos*, imprisonment, and *timoria*, torment. Our Lord and his apostles carefully abstained from expressing or implying the popular error by never using the terms employed by those of their contemporaries who taught it.

Not only is this true, but the views held by the early Christians on other points demonstrate that they could not have regarded the consequences of sin as remediless. It was everywhere held that Christ had preached the Gospel to the dead in Hades, and many taught that all the damned were released.[7] They could

not have believed this, and endless woe at the same time. Prayers for the dead, to relieve their condition, were universal,[8] which would have been folly had they held that their doom had been irretrievably fixed at death.

The doctrine of purgatory, as now taught in the Catholic church, was not known until after several centuries from the death of our Lord. It was first stated at the close of the sixth century by Pope Gregory, its inventor.[9] Purgatory is a corruption of the doctrine that all God's punishments are remedial—a theory everywhere held in the early church, which precludes unending woe.[10]

The strongest negative evidence, perhaps, on this subject, is found in the testimony of the Catacombs.[11] From the first century to the end of the fourth, the early Christians buried their dead in the soft rock that underlies Rome. Sixty excavations have been made, extending 587 miles. More than 6,000,000 bodies have been located, known to have been buried between the years 72 and 410. Eleven thousand epitaphs and inscriptions have been found. Nothing but hope, cheerfulness, serenity is expressed. Death to those primitive Christians, was birth into a better life, and there is literally nothing in all that is engraved there resembling the horrible ideas that began to be rife after the "dark shadow of Augustine" fell across Christendom.[12]

The *Sibylline Oracles*, the earliest production subsequent to the New Testament, explicitly avows the sentiment of universal restoration.[13] The part containing the doctrine dates from the year 80 to the second century. The author represents the good in heaven as finding their bliss destroyed by knowing the wretchedness of the lost, and with united voice they

beseech God to release them from their sufferings; and God hears them and saves them. This is what the "Oracles" says:

"The omnipotent, incorruptible God shall confer another favor on his worshipers, when they shall ask him: He shall save mankind from the pernicious fire and immortal agonies. * * * Having gathered them and safely secured them from the unwearied flame, * * he shall send them, for his people's sake, into another and aionian life, with the immortals."

The Sibyl anticipates the poet Whittier:

"Still thy love, O Christ arisen,
Yearns to reach 'those souls in prison!'
Thro' all depths of sin and loss,
Drops the plummet of thy cross.
Never yet abyss was found
Deeper than that cross could sound;
Deep below as high above
Sweeps the circle of God's love."

The Sibyl was ranked with David, in the famous hymn everywhere sung in the church, for a thousand years:

"Dies irae, dies illa,
Solvet sæclum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla."

Three great Gnostic Christian sects, the Valentinians, the Basilidians, and the Carpocratians—from 117 to 200—made restorationism prominent, and the *Oracles* was a classic from the beginning of Christianity down to the middle ages.

But the cruel persecutions of Decius and Diocletian destroyed nearly all the early Christian writings. A very few manuscripts and the inscriptions in the Catacombs give us about all we know of the early opinions concerning the future, until we reach Clement and Origen, who tell us explicitly what those views were.[14] So far as history reveals, the Christians of the

first centuries prolonged the key-note of the Gospels and the Epistles of the New Testament—that joy to all people, universal deliverance from sin and sorrow had come to the world through the advent of Christ.[15] All the words that belong to his mission,[16] gospel, kingdom of God, saviour, grace, peace, living water, bread of life, are "brimful of promise and joy." And Christians were everywhere characterized by joyfulness and cheerfulness. Historians agree that no subsequent period in the history of Christianity approaches the serenity, joy, peace and purity of the first three centuries. The gloom, asceticism, the dark theology that followed Augustine—invented by him—were entirely unknown.[17]

The first attempt at systematizing the Christian religion, the first dogmatic statement of the prevalent Christian opinion on the subject of human destiny, was in Alexandria, at that time the center of culture, thought, and mental activity in the then known world. From the time of Ptolemy Soter, (306–385 B. C.) till more than 200 A. D., the books, scholars and learning of the world were here in this Greek-speaking city, with its population of 600,000, and its library of 700,000 volumes. Here was founded the first Christian theological school that ever existed. The first scholar of note who was connected with this institution, was Anaxagoras, who was followed by Pantænus, in 179. Under Anaxagoras, the school was for the instruction of proselytes, but Pantænus made it a theological seminary.[18] In a short time similar institutions were established in Antioch, Edessa, Athens and Nisibis, but that in Alexandria was the principal one. Here the Greek language was spoken,—the language in which the Christian records were written, and here the doctrine of uni-

versal salvation was explicitly proclaimed. Nothing survives of Anaxagoras or Pantænus, but the distinguished disciple of the latter, Clement of Alexandria, has left copious writings to show what was the type of Christian thought at least as early as the years 150–220, the dates of his birth and death. Charles Kingsley says:[19]

"To those old Christians a being who was not seeking after every single creature, and trying to raise him, could not be a being of absolute righteousness, power and love. * * * The Alexandrian Christians made the best, perhaps the only, attempt yet made by man to proclaim a true world philosophy," and produced "in the lives of millions, generation after generation, a more immense moral improvement than the world had ever seen before. * * * They did for centuries work a distinct and palpable deliverance on the earth."

Farrar declares that[20] Alexandria "was the cradle of Christian theology."

While, then, the Catacombs tell us the belief of the poor and unlettered, the Alexandrian scholars alone give us the doctrines of the teachers of the early church. We must, therefore, turn to the head of the Alexandrian theological school to learn the theology of the Christian church during the second century. Clement became its president, A. D. 189. While he was confessedly a philosopher, and met the wisest pagans successfully on philosophical grounds, he derived his theology from the Bible. He says, himself:[21] "We wait for no human testimony, but bring proof of what we assert from the word of the Lord, which is the most trustworthy, or rather the only evidence." And Clement could not have erred. Greek was his mother tongue; and he knew perfectly the meaning of those words which have since been the subject of controversy among Christians; first among the Latins, and

later in other languages, by those who were obliged to deal with them as foreign words, through the medium of translations. When, therefore, he uses *aionios*, rendered eternal, everlasting in the New Testament, to signify limited duration, as he repeatedly does, and declares over and over again that all punishment is disciplinary, he knew the facts better than those who were not Greeks, and were further removed from the origin of Christianity. Especially is his authority better than that of Augustine who first formulated the dogma of endless punishment, more than a century afterwards, and who acknowledges[22] that he was not competent to define Greek words. And when Clement claims to reproduce "an original, unwritten tradition," which he learned "from a disciple of the apostles," we must give to his words greater weight than to those of any other ancient this side of the apostles, whose writings survive. Bunsen well styles him, "the first Christian philosopher of mankind. He believed in a universal plan of a divine education of the human race."[23]

I might cite pages from Clement to demonstrate his views. He says:[24]

"So he saves all; but some he converts by penalties; others who follow him of their own will, and in accordance with the worthiness of his honor, that every knee may be bent to him of celestial, terrestrial and infernal things, (Phil. ii: 10,) that is angels, men, and souls who before his advent migrated from this mortal life." Again: [25]"For there are partial corrections [26] which are called chastisements, [27] which many of us who have been in transgression incur from falling away from the Lord's people. But as children are chastised by their teacher, or their father, so are we by Providence, but God does not punish, [28] for punishment [29] is retaliation for evil. He chastises, however, for good to those who are chastised, collectively and individually."

This important passage is very instructive in the

light it sheds on the primitive usage of Greek words. The word chastisement is rendered from *kolasis* which is the word translated punishment in Matthew xxv: 46, and punishment is from *timoria*, which Josephus uses to mean torment, but which Clement says God never inflicts, and which the New Testament never employs to denote the consequences of sin. Clement further declares [30] that the punishment in Hades is restorative, curative, and that punished souls are cleansed by the fire of punishment. He says:[31]

"If in this life there are so many ways for purification and repentance, how much more should there be after death. The purification of souls, when separated from the body will be easier. We can set no limits to the agency of the Redeemer; to redeem, to rescue, to discipline, is his work, and so will he continue to operate after this life." [32]"And how is he Saviour and Lord, and not Saviour and Lord of all? But he (Christ) is the Saviour of those who have believed because of their wishing to know, and of those who have not believed he is Lord, until by being brought to confess him, they shall receive the proper and well-adapted blessings for themselves which come by him."

Not to quote more at length, it is the testimony of such critics as Allen,[33] Bigg,[34] De Pressense,[35] Maurice,[36] Baur,[37] Daille,[38] Farrar,[39] and others, that Clement taught that God is never angry with man; hating sin with unlimited hatred but loving the sinner with illimitable love; and that all his punishments are means to ends, to convert and redeem. Allen in his *Continuity of Christian Thought* thus epitomizes Clement:

"The judgment is not conceived as the final assize of the universe in some remote future, but as a present continuous element in the process of human education. The purpose of the judgment, as of all the divine penalties, is always remedial. Judgment enters into the work of redemption as a constructive factor. The censures, the punishments, the judgments of God are a necessary element of the educational process in the life of humanity,

and the motive which underlies is goodness and love. * * There is no necessity that God should be reconciled with humanity, for there is no schism in the divine nature between love and justice which needs to be overcome. * * Justice and love are in reality the same attribute. * * God is most loving when he is most just, and most just when he is most loving. God works all things up to what is better. Clement would not tolerate the thought that any soul would continue forever to resist the force of redeeming love. Somehow and somewhere in the long run of ages that love must prove weightier than sin and death, and vindicate its power in one universal triumph."

Bigg thinks that Clement is a better exponent of the ideas of the apostles than even Origen, because he lived under circumstances where "primitive thoughts and habits lingered longer than elsewhere."[40]

In fact, original sin, total depravity, infant guilt and damnation, election, vicarious atonement, endless punishment as the penalty of sin, indeed, as Allen says,[41] "none of the individual doctrines or tenets which have so long been the object of dislike and animadversion to the modern theological mind, formed any constituent part in Greek theology." The views taught in this greatest and first of the ancient theological schools, by Clement, and presumably by Pantænus, Anaxagoras and their predecessors back to the apostles, were substantially those of the Universalist Church of today, so far as they included the character of God, the resurrection, the judgment, the nature and design of punishment, and the final destiny of mankind.

If this is true of Clement, it is infinitely more so of Origen who succeeded Clement as president of the Catechetical school of Alexandria, A. D. 203, at the astonishingly early age of eighteen.[42] It would require a volume to describe the wonderful ability, saintly character, and voluminous productions of this greatest

saint and scholar of the Christian ages.[43] The consensus of Christian historians places his name first in the long roll of eminent saints and scholars. Eulogy in his praise is almost exhausted by Mosheim,[44] Schaff,[45] Bigg,[46] Bunsen,[47] De Pressense,[48] Neale,[49] Westcott,[50] Farrar.[51] He taught the theology of Clement far more fully than Clement himself. Celsus, the early assailant of Christianity, objected to it because it taught punishment by fire.[52] Origen replied that God's fire possesses a disciplinary, purifying quality,[53] that will not harm the sinner, but consumes in him that which is evil. He repeatedly uses the word[54] with which our Lord defines the duration of punishment, in Matt. xxv, 46, but declares that beyond it is restoration. His great work, *De Principiis*, Greek, *Peri Archon*, which is the first formal presentation of Christianity as a system ever made,[55] presents universal salvation as a fundamental and essential truth. *De Principiis* was given to the world A. D. 230. Here is a specimen passage:[56]

"The end of the world then, and the final consummation will take place when every one shall be subjected to punishment for his sins; a time which God alone knows, when he will bestow on each one what he deserves. We think indeed, that the goodness of God, through his Christ, may recall all his creatures to one end, even his enemies being conquered and subdued. * * What then is this 'putting under' by which all things must be made subject to Christ? I am of opinion that it is this very subjection by which we also wish to be subject to him, by which the apostles were subject, and all the saints have been followers of Christ. For the word 'subjection' by which we are subject to Christ, indicates that the salvation which proceeds from him belongs to his subjects. * * God is a consuming fire because he 'consumes evil thoughts,' a 'refiner's fire, to refine the rational nature." He says:[57] "The stoics, indeed, hold that when the strongest of the elements prevails, all things shall be turned into fire. But our belief is that the Word shall prevail over the entire rational creation, and change every soul into its own perfection; in which

state every one, by the mere exercise of his power, will choose what he desires, and obtain what he chooses. For, although in the diseases and wounds of the body, there are some which no medical skill can cure, yet we hold that in the mind there is no evil so strong that it may not be overcome by the supreme Word, and God."

He regards Gehenna (Hell), as an agent in this process. He tells Celsus,[58] "We find that what was termed 'Gehenna,' or 'the valley of Ennom,' was intended for the purification of such souls as are to be purified by torments." In reply to Celsus's charge that Christians teach that sinners will be burnt up, Origen says,[59] that some foolish Christians had entertained such views, in consequence of not understanding the Scriptures; but he declares that God's fire is always a means to the end of purification; and when Celsus charges that the Christian's God acts like a cook, in roasting men, Origen replies, "not like a cook, but like a God who is the benefactor of those needing the discipline of fire."[60]

He says, God would not tell us to put away anger, wrath, and then be guilty himself of what he prohibits in us. Dr. Bigg thus sums up Origen's views:[61]

"Slowly, yet certainly, the blessed change must come, the purifying fire must eat up the dross and leave the pure gold. * * One by one we shall enter into rest, never to stray again. Then, when death, the last enemy is destroyed, when the tale of his children is complete, Christ will 'drink wine in the kingdom of his Father.' This is the end, when 'all shall be one as Christ and the Father are one,' when 'God shall be all in all.'"

Origen's expositions of the word rendered everlasting,[62] of Gehenna, of fire, of all punishment, of the results of Christ's mission, are identically those of Universalist scholars today; and they are not put forth by him controversially, but are his statements of Christian doctrine as understood by the church of his time, and there is not a particle of evidence that these

ideas were dissented from by his contemporaries. These opinions of Origen are not only set forth in a great number of passages in his writings,[63] but are conceded by Bigg,[64] Hagenbach,[65] Mosheim,[66] Robertson.[67] The Dictionary of Christian Biography,[68] Blunt,[69] Neander,[70] Schaff,[71] Farrar, Bunsen,[72] and indeed, by all the eminent writers who have written about him.

Dr. Bigg thus interprets Origen:[73] "What the church cannot pardon, God may. The sin which has no forgiveness in this æon or in the æon to come, may be atoned for in some one of the countless æons of the vast hereafter." This exegesis shows us how the primitive church regarded the "unpardonable sin," Matt. xii. 32. The sin against the Holy Ghost "shall not be forgiven in this world, (*aion*, age), nor in the world (*aion*, age), to come." But Origen and the early church taught that it will be in some subsequent age. As Origen, the Universalist, employed the word rendered everlasting, eternal, to describe his idea of the duration of punishment,—as did Titus of Bostra, Gregory of Nyssa, and other restorationists, as I shall show later on,—we are estopped from supposing that other early Christians held to endless punishment merely because they use the same word.

It should not be inferred that these views were peculiar to Clement and Origen, for, as the historian Neale accurately observes:[74] "In reading the works of Origen we are not to consider his tenets and opinions as those of one isolated doctor; they are rather an embodiment of the doctrines handed down in the catechetical school of Alexandria. And this school was the type or model, according to which the mind of the Alexandrian church was cast; the philosophy of Pantænus descended to Clemens, and from him was caught

by Origen." And it may be added that as long as the school existed they continued to be taught, and contrary to the prevailing impression,[75] were not condemned until into the dark ages; for, though the Emperor Justinian issued an edict in 544, demanding their condemnation,[76] the council did not obey him, and the doctrines of Origen and Clement continued to be taught until the approaching darkness of subsequent times obscured the truth. Eusebius, a Restorationist, was active in the Council of Nice (A. D. 315), and the Gregories, Nazianzen and Nyssen,[77] both Universalists, controlled that of Constantinople, (A. D. 381); so that Universalism must have been orthodox then.

Not only was the Alexandrian church the custodian of the truth, but it was quite as distinctly taught in other portions of the Christian world.[78] During, and for a long time after, Origen's time there were five other religious schools in different portions of Christendom, in three of which besides that in Alexandria, Universalism was taught.[79] In one of the others the annihilation of the wicked was held, a doctrine brought by converts from Paganism; and in the other endless punishment was held, probably derived from Jewish converts, who had imported the error through the Babylonian sojourn of the Jews. The last two, however, were only schools for catechumens. The other four were Universalist schools, and they were the only strictly theological schools in all the world. Two of them accepted the Universalism of Clement and Origen, those in Alexandria and Cesaræa, and two, those in Antioch and Edessa, that of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodore of Tarsus.[80] All four thoroughly agreed on the fact of universal restoration; they differed only as to the process of its accomplishment.

That the doctrine was prevalent in the fourth century is the testimony of historians. Says Dietelmair[81] "Universalism in the fourth century drove its roots down deeply alike in the east and the west, and had very many defenders;" to which Gieseler adds:[82] "The belief in the inalienable power of amendment in all rational creatures, and the limited duration of future punishment, was general, even in the west, and among the opponents of Origen." Doederlein declares:[83] "The more highly distinguished in Christian antiquity any one was for learning, so much the more did he cherish and defend the hope of future torment sometime ending."[84]

Time will permit only the briefest references to the eminent saints and scholars, who, in different portions of Christendom and in different centuries, illustrate the foregoing statements concerning the prevalence of our faith in the first four or five centuries.

I can barely name Clemens Romanus (60–120); Theophilus of Antioch (150–180); Athenodorus, Heracles, Dionysius, Firmilian, Theognostus, Palladius and Pierius, intimates of Origen; Pamphilus (250–309); Eusebius, and Didymus the Blind (309-395); Marcellus (315); Rufinus (345–410); Ambrose of Milan (340–398); Serapion (346); Chrysostom (347–407); Victorinus (360); Hilary (368); Macarius Magnes (370); Theodoretus the Blessed, (387–458); Cassianus (390–440); and Evagrius (390). These, like the other acknowledged ancient Restorationists were men distinguished for their intelligence, learning and piety.

Among the greatest of the Fathers, perhaps, subsequent to Origen, were Gregory of Nazianzus (330–390), and more prominently Theodore of Mopsuestia (350–428), who have left most emphatic testimony.[85] Brief quotations must suffice. Theodore says:

"The wicked who had committed evil the whole period of their lives shall be punished till they learn that, by continuing in sin, they only continue in misery. And, when by this means, they shall have been brought to fear God, and to regard him with good will, they shall obtain the enjoyment of his grace. For he never would have said 'until thou hast paid the uttermost farthing,[86] unless we can be released from suffering after having suffered adequately for sin; nor would he have said, 'he shall be beaten with many stripes,' and again, 'he shall be beaten with few stripes,'[87] unless the punishment to be endured for sin shall have an end." Theodore declared that the punishment of the condemned is called eternal because it belongs to eternity, and not because it is endless;[88] but both reason and Scripture lead us to the conclusion that they will be remissible on repentance. God[89] "recapitulated all things in Christ, * * as though making a compendious renewal and restoration of the whole creation to him. Now this will take place in a future age, when all mankind, and all powers possessed of reason, look up to him, as is his right, and obtain mutual concord and firm peace."[90]

Theodore was a warm opponent of some of Origen's views, though they agreed in accepting universal salvation. Origen exalted the freedom of the human will, and Theodore, the divine efficiency. Their differences resembled those of Doctors Sawyer and Williamson in our own church—they agreed concerning the result, but differed as to the process.

After the condemnation of Origen and Theodore, by church councils, most of their works were either mutilated or destroyed by their opponents, otherwise we might have pages where we have sentences to vindicate our thesis.

I can only allude to Titus of Bostra (338–378), who says:[91]

"The abyss of torment is indeed the place of chastisement, but it is not eternal,[92] nor did it exist in the original constitution of nature. It was made afterwards, as a remedy for sinners, that it might cure them. The anguish of their sufferings compels them

to break off their iniquities. * * All universally shall be made one through Christ, and in Christ."

Passing over many minor authorities, I must not fail to mention three remarkable brothers, and their more remarkable sister—Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Peter of Sebaste, and the "Blessed Macrina," who were among the most influential, conspicuous, and saintly figures of the church from 350 to 390. They were all four undoubtedly Universalists, as they wrought together in perfect sympathy, though distinct avowals of the doctrine are found only in the writings of Macrina and Gregory. They were grandchildren of another Macrina, who was the disciple of Gregory Thaumaturgus, the zealous defender of Origen, and who was conspicuous in the church nearly a century before. This Gregory lived from 210 to 270. All these eminent characters, except Origen, were canonized by the Catholic church. The eldest child of this family was Macrina, who was born in 327, and whose influence moulded her three brothers, all whom became eminent bishops. Basil died[93] first, and Gregory, who was at the death-bed of his sister, reports her dying words in two books which he wrote, both existing in their original Greek, and in Latin translations.[94] Gregory reports Macrina as saying on the "all in all" of Paul:[95]

"The Word seems to me to lay down the doctrine of the perfect obliteration of wickedness, for if God shall be in all things that are, obviously wickedness shall not be in them."[96] Again,[97] "when evil has been extirpated in the long cycles of the æons, nothing shall be left outside the boundaries of good, but even from them shall be unanimously uttered the confession of the Lordship of Christ." Again, the "resurrection is only the restoration of human nature to its pristine condition."[98]

This conversation is full of our sentiments, and the character of Macrina is one of the finest among the

saintly women of Christendom.[99] Her brother Gregory not only enthusiastically reports her language, but frequently so states it that it is difficult to decide whether it is his own or his sister's. But he himself writes:[100]

"What then is the scope of St. Paul's argument in this place? That the nature of evil shall be wholly exterminated, and divine, immortal goodness embrace within itself all intelligent natures; so that, of all who were made by God, not one shall be exiled from his kingdom. All the viciousness that like a corrupt matter is mingled in things, shall be dissolved, and consumed in the furnace of purifying fire, and everything that had its origin from God shall be restored to its primal condition of purity."

Again,[101] "For it is evident that God will be 'all in all' when there shall be no evil in existence, when every created being is at harmony with itself; and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord; when every creature shall have been made one body. Now the body of Christ, as I have often said, is the whole of humanity."[102] Here is a very instructive sentence:[103] "Whoever considers the divine power will plainly perceive, that it is able at length to restore, by means of the purifying punishment[104] and expiatory sufferings those who have gone even to this extremity of wickedness."

Thus the very word rendered punishment used by our Lord in Matthew xxv: 46, is declared by the greatest father of the Fourth Century to be limited means to the end of salvation.[105] Aionian (everlasting) punishment is a means to the end of restoration—hence it must be limited.

While Gregory and his sister and brothers, as well as their grandmother Macrina, and her teacher Gregory, were all Universalists, and canonized by the Catholic church, Origen and Theodore were anathematized—not, however, on account of their Universalism. Indeed, it may be said that heretics and orthodox, the most eminent of both parties during the first centuries, agreed on the final salvation of the human family, until the opposite

sentiment introduced by Tertullian, (160–220), and elaborated by Augustine, (354–420), under African and Latin auspices, got possession of the mechanical Roman mind, and began the perversion and adulteration of Christianity that resulted. Even Professor Schaff admits[103] that––

"The world overcame the church as much as the church overcame the world, and the temporal gain of Christianity was in many respects canceled by spiritual loss. The mass of the Roman empire was baptized only with water, not with the spirit and fire of the Gospel, and it smuggled heathen practices and manners into the sanctuary under a new name."

But when the Arabs overran the east, destroyed Alexandria, and drove Christianity out, and Latin became the language of learning, more and more the cheerful spirit of Christianity receded, and its truths were eclipsed until the gloom and horror of medivæal creeds and a pseudo Christianity,[107] almost universally prevailed. As long as Greek, the language of the New Testament, was the language of the church, universal salvation was the prevalent doctrine of Christendom And more than this, while Tertullian and most prominent defenders of endless punishment were heathen born and reared, or led corrupt and vicious lives in their youth—Augustine confesses he passed his years of early manhood in the brothels of Carthage—Origen, the Gregories, Basil, Didymus, Theodore, Theodoret and others were not only greatest among the saints in their maturity, but they were reared by Christian parents.

The Rev. Thomas Allin, of the Episcopal church, in his recent volume, declares:[108]

"In that famous age of the world's history, * * Universalism seems to have been the creed of the majority of Christians

in the east and west alike; perhaps, even of a large majority, * * * and in the roll of its teachers, * * * were * * * most of the greatest names of the greatest age of primitive Christianity. And this teaching, be it noted, is strongest where the language of the New Testament was a living tongue; i. e. in the greatest Greek fathers. It is strongest in the church's greatest era, and declines as knowledge and purity decline. On the other hand, endless penalty is most strongly taught precisely in those quarters where the New Testament was less read in the original, and also, in the most corrupt ages of the church."

In a similar strain is the testimony of Dr. Edward Beecher, who says:[109]

"All who held to universal restoration in the early ages, were, as a universally-conceded fact, eminent and devoted Christians. * * They were peculiarly distinguished for the excellence and loveliness of their Christian characters. I do not know an unworthy, low, or mean character in any prominent open and avowed restorationist of that age of freedom of inquiry which was inaugurated by the Alexandrian school. * [110] The defenders of the doctrine of restoration were not exceeded in intellectual power, learning, and Christian character, by any men of the age. Who were greater in all these respects than Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Didymus the Blind, Gregory of Nyssa, Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Eusebius of Cesaraea, and Theodoret? All of these were avowed restorationists. * * * Who on the side of future (endless) punishment deserves such a eulogy as Dr. Schaff has given to Origen, and Dorner to Theodore of Mopsuestia? * * Beyond all doubt, in the age of Origen, and his scholars, and in the times of Theodore of Mopsuestia—(A. D. 200–A. D. 420) the weight of learned and influential ecclesiastics was on the side of universal restoration."

Nothing can be more evident to the careful reader of the early history of our religion, than that the annihilation of sin and evil, and the universal elevation of the human family to holiness and happiness, was the primitive doctrine of the Christian church, and that this doctrine prevailed until the Greek language and culture and spirit were overslaughed.[111] When the Bible

was no longer read in the original; when half heathen Roman Emperors dictated the doctrines of the church; when Christianity became Catholicism, and dense darkness and semi-barbarism possessed the popular mind, the light of the Gospel was extinguished, and "the faith once delivered to the saints" was buried—to emerge again, and become, as it is fast becoming, during this *fin de siecle*, the faith of Christendom. Our distinguishing doctrine is not, therefore, as many suppose, a new one; it is the revival of an old one. It is a return to the positions of Clement of Alexandria, seventeen hundred years ago. It is the rejuvenation, the restoration, the renaissance, the re-birth of Christianity.[112] And as the Bible, which the hands of ignorance and superstition had overwritten into a hideous palimpsest is being read in its true meaning, and as increasing light pours upon its sacred pages, more and more men are learning to spell its divine messages correctly, as they were spoken or written at the beginning—in harmony with man's intellectual, moral and affectional nature, and with the attributes and character of the UNIVERSAL FATHER.

Presentation Day, Hall of Washington, Sept. 15.

XI.

THE OBSCURATION OF UNIVERSALISM

In the Early Church and Middle Ages.

BY THOMAS J. SAWYER, D. D.

IF, by the preceding paper in this volume, it has been made to appear that Universalism, or the doctrine of the ultimate salvation of all mankind, was widely entertained during several of the earlier ages of the Christian church, and that, too, by some of its most learned, and in their day, orthodox doctors, it becomes a question of no little interest how it happened afterwards to fall into general disrepute and undergo what might almost be called a total eclipse—an eclipse, indeed, which threw a shadow over many succeeding generations, and still covers, more or less densely, by far the greater part of Christendom.

This question gains vastly in importance when we reflect upon the character and scope of the rejected doctrine, which asserts nothing less than the final holiness or moral perfection, and consequent happiness of the whole human race. A doctrine so comprehensive and grand, so honorable to the wisdom and goodness

of God, and at the same time so grateful to every noble mind and benevolent heart, ought, one would think, to be immortal, and when once apprehended and believed, should be imperishable. And so I believe it is. Through all the Christian ages, I think, there have been some who rejoiced in the recognition of this truth, while thousands of others in the deepest aspirations of their souls, have longed for it.

Christianity awoke, as it had never been awakened before, the thought and hope of immortality. And with that thought, and the spirit of love which this religion kindled in all who received it, came the question as to the destiny of those who were about them and the multitudes beyond, of whom they had some knowledge.

To this large question several answers were given. In respect to the happy destiny of those who believed on Christ and obeyed his law there was, in terms at least, a general agreement, for in all creeds "it is always well with the righteous." But as to the fate of the wicked, that is, the unbelieving and disobedient, there was in the early times of the church, as there is now, no such consensus of opinion. Some, as Arnobius and Justin Martyr, for instance, thought that the wicked will at last be annihilated and so absolutely cease to be. Others with Tertullian, Minucius Felix and Augustine, believed that the wicked will be preserved in existence, indeed, and be immortal, but only to suffer the wrath of God and be punished "without mercy and without end."

In the presence of two such opinions as these, from one of which we instinctively shrink with dread, and contemplate the other only with amazement and horror, it should not be thought singular that some with a

wider horizon and clearer eyes should have read the Gospel of Christ in a larger way. They saw the goodness and love of God so great and unfaltering, and the redemptive powers of the cross of Christ so ample and enduring, that the heart of the most obdurate sinner must yield at last, and thus by "repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ" all men shall be saved.

It need not be remarked that these three opinions practically embrace the whole circle of possibilities in the case, since it is evident if the wicked are not converted and saved, they must either be annihilated or otherwise be left in their sins, and consequently suffer their righteous punishment.

Of those who entertained the larger and "better hope" I may mention as some of the more eminent, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, Didymus, of Alexandria, and Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia, and to these I might add the names of many others less distinguished or less known. It seems that the doctrine of Universalism was generally involved in the teaching of the great catechetical school of Alexandria, the first and the most famous theological seminary of the early church, through the greater part of its existence, as it also was, if I mistake not, of the similar schools of Cæsarea, Antioch and Edessa. Some of those named above, and the students who proceeded from those schools, were certainly among the most learned men of their time, and were regarded as most eminent for their industry and Christian labors. And this fact gives countenance at least, if it does not justify, the remark of Doederlein, a learned German divine, more than a hundred years ago, that, "in Christian antiquity the

more distinguished any one was for erudition, so much the more did he cherish and defend the hope that punishments must sometime come to an end."

In process of time, however, a great change came gradually over the thought and opinion of the church, and the great doctrine of universal salvation fell into discredit. It was long popularly supposed that it was condemned by a council of the church, either the home synod of Constantinople, about A. D. 544, or the fifth general council in the same city, held nine years after, A. D. 553, but recent investigations of English and American scholars lead to the conclusion that the doctrine was never condemned by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever. Both of the above bodies were called at the instance of the Emperor Justinian, who dictated an edict against this particular tenet of Origen's opinions, but although the councils were held under his direction, and in most particulars recorded his will, the condemnation of Origen's belief in universal restoration was not ratified by either body.

The fact that Universalism first fell into disrepute at so late a period seems to me very important. It had been in the church probably from the beginning; it had been maintained by many distinguished doctors; it had held its place, side by side, with the doctrine which teaches the annihilation of the wicked and that which affirms their endless punishment. And yet for five centuries, no council, nor even a synod, had lifted its voice to pronounce it heretical. There is one circumstance which marks this fact as very significant. Origen, the most learned man of his age, the most voluminous writer and the greatest preacher, was known to be a patron of this doctrine. During his life he was generally regarded as orthodox, and till within about twenty

years of his death, held his place unquestioned in the Catholic church. After this he fell under censure, was condemned by Demetrius, his bishop, for heresy and excommunicated from the church. Yet his Universalism, so far as we know, or have reason to believe, was never called in question and was never urged against him, nor was he condemned for it. For certain other opinions he was repeatedly censured and was condemned, but for his Universalism never. The three hundred years that had passed since the death of Origen had been ripe with controversies about the truths of Christianity, and doctrinal errors had been carefully hunted out, exposed and condemned, but Origen's Universalism had passed unnoticed. Let me here give a brief sketch of this remarkable man.

He was born of Christian parents in Alexandria A. D. 186. His father early saw the promise he gave of rare abilities, and carefully watched his education. At the age of sixteen his father honored his Christian faith by martyrdom, which Origen was anxious to share. As his father's estate was confiscated, the family, of which Origen was the eldest, was left in poverty. At the age of eighteen, owing to his remarkable attainments in all branches of learning, and his singular maturity in Christian knowledge and character, he was appointed master of the great catechetical school of Alexandria, as successor of the celebrated Clement, whose pupil he had been. In this important position he remained for twenty-five or thirty years, winning for himself and his school a constantly increasing reputation. Then some events occurred which without compromising Origen's character, alienated the affection of Demetrius from him and turned him into a bitter and relentless enemy. I need not enter upon

this unhappy affair, the result of which was that by a local council under the influence of the bishop, Origen was degraded from the office of presbyter, and on some charges of heresy, condemned and excommunicated. This action of the authorities at Alexandria, the churches of Palestine, Phœnicia, Achaia and Arabia refused to approve and opened their arms to receive him. The consequence was that Origen transferred his residence from Alexandria to Cæsarea, in Palestine, entered the theological school there, or created one, and went on with his studies, his teaching and writing, much as if nothing had happened. We do not know what were the grounds of Origen's condemnation for heresy, but as his Universalism was never urged against him for two or three centuries afterwards, and as no mention is made of it by his enemies, we may safely assume that this did not enter into the catalogue of his heresies. And quite aside from this he held, or at least proposed, a number of opinions which were made matters of grave offense by the church. They were speculative notions for the most part, which could neither be proved nor disproved, and which contravened no essential doctrine of the Christian religion, but were simply odd conceits, such as the pre-existence of souls and the like. The condemnation of Origen by Demetrius did little to injure his reputation among scholars and candid people who judged him by his Christian life and labors.

After great sufferings endured at the hand of pagan persecutors, from which he never wholly recovered, Origen died (A. D. 254), in the seventieth year of his age. And when he had been in his grave nearly a hundred and fifty years a great crusade was made upon his memory by Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus,

Jerome, a monk at Bethlehem, and Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria. Neander gives a very careful account of these disgraceful episodes in ecclesiastical history, and draws the characters of the three men with vividness and accuracy. By them Origen was charged with a number of heresies and was condemed by local councils held at Alexandria, in Cyprus and at Rome. I have read with some care the proceedings of these bodies and the correspondence of the three chief actors through the ten or twelve years during which the controversy or quarrel continued, and I fail to find that any mention was made of Origen's Universalism, or even an allusion to it, from beginning to end. A reason for this may be found, I think, in the fact that Jerome had previously avowed his faith in universal salvation as clearly as Origen himself, and Theophilus also had the reputation of being, or of having been an Origenist. Of the opinion of Epiphanius on the subject I cannot speak, but Gieseler tells us that at this period, "the belief in the inalienable capacity of improvement in all rational beings, and the limited duration of punishment was so general even in the west and among the opponents of Origen that whatever may be said of its not having arisen without the influence of Origen's school, it had become entirely independent of his system."

Even Augustine, the earnest advocate of endless punishment at the time, confesses that there were "some, yea, *quam plurimi*, very many," who did not believe his doctrines, and he spoke no doubt of the Christians of his own Northern Africa.

What influence the noise and ebullition of passion against Origen and his eccentric opinions at the end of the fourth century, and at the beginning of the fifth, had upon the fortunes of Universalism, it is now diffi-

cult to say. But if they injured that doctrine incidentally, they did a far greater injury in another way, for as Dr. Schaff says: "The condemnation of Origen struck a death blow to theological science in the Greek church, and left it to stiffen gradually into a mechanical traditionalism and formalism." And in this condition it has remained ever since. The same author pronounces Origen "the most learned and ablest divine of the ante-Nicene period, the Plato or Schleiermacher of the Greek church," and thinks "even the errors of such men more useful than the merely traditional orthodoxy of unthinking men, because they come from an honest search after truth and provoke new investigation."

That Universalism was condemned by the Emperor Justinian in an imperial edict, not, however, ratified by a council of the church, as heretofore stated, is a fact well established. The emperor was an earnest Christian in his way, no doubt, but anxious to rule the church as well as the state, and to do both by imperial authority. As described by the historians he was often ruled by his wife, and she was often ruled by some crafty priests, who as frequently sought their own interests as those of the church. But the good emperor thought himself the church's nursing father and had no doubt that he was able to settle all questions in theology as well as those of state. In a letter to Mennas, the archbishop of Constantinople, about A. D. 540, he set forth in order the heresies of Origen which had been so thoroughly ventilated a hundred and forty years before, and now for the first time introduced the salvation of all mankind in the catalogue of heresies. Epiphanius and his associates had contented themselves with denouncing Origen's doctrine of the redemption

of the devil, but Justinian went still further and included wicked men, and anathematized everyone who believed in the salvation of all. The words of the emperor's edict are as follows: "If anyone says or holds that the punishment of the demons, and of ungodly men is temporal, that is, that after a certain time it will come to an end, and there will be a restoration of the demons and ungodly men, let him be anathema."

To make this edict effective it was further ordered that thereafter no bishop or abbot should be ordained until he had approved this sentence of condemnation, and that any bishop or abbot who refused obedience to it, should be deposed and banished. After this, Universalism could hold its place only in secret, and with all the forces of church and state arrayed against it, it naturally declined and after a time must have practically died out.

This is a very imperfect sketch, I am sensible, of the decline and disappearance of Universalism in the ancient church. There were causes no doubt lying back of these historical events, and several things probably contributed to the final result. The influence of St. Augustine, through the century and a quarter after his death, had been adverse to Universalism wherever it had gone. His theory of the Christian religion was not only at war with Universalism, but with the Gospel itself. Though not so bold a system of foreordination as Calvin taught, it still involved the fact that the majority of the human race are born under a fatal curse and are by nature incapable of salvation. In the bosom of God there is no mercy for them and nothing remains but an eternity of torment. St. Augustine was an admirable rhetorician, but his logic was often lame and his theology horrible. Yet he dominated the

Catholic church for a thousand years, and, through Calvin, has largely ruled the Protestant church ever since the Reformation.

But it is not in the realm of thought chiefly that we are to seek the causes of that obscuration of Universalism which marked the middle ages. There were a hundred unfriendly influences in the political condition of Christendom and the general state of society. In the breaking up of the unwieldy mass of the Roman Empire, in the incursions of barbarous nations, in the absorption and imperfect assimilation of pagans, with their ignorance and superstitions, it is one of the miracles of history that anything of Christianity was finally left.

Read in Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 13.

XII.

THE BIBLE: INSPIRATION AND REVELATION.

BY GEORGE HOMER EMERSON, D. D.

THE present essay would not be attempted but for the strong assurance in the mind of the writer that while it affects to represent the Universalist denomination in the views it puts forth touching the mutually related doctrines of BIBLICAL INSPIRATION AND REVELATION, it will also present the real convictions of the particular person who is intrusted with the responsibility of formulating them. There is, however, an explanation due any hearer or reader of this paper to whom the nature and history of Universalist thought is not known. It should, therefore, be distinctly stated at the outset that the creed of the Universalist church is very brief and is restricted to quite general principles. "The Profession of Faith," as it is called, contains but three articles, and of these only two have a doctrinal character. Of the few specifications, but two can be pertinent to the present discussion, namely: a recognition of "the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments" as "containing a revelation of the char-

acter of God," this revelation being made in, or through Jesus Christ, the process being described as "by one Holy Spirit of grace." In the year 1803, when the profession was adopted as a bond of denominational union, there was no contention over the dogmatic contents of the words "inspiration" and "revelation." Hence, there was no attempt to define or limit them. Such particularizing was by common consent placed under the head of "minor doctrines;" and in regard thereto every believer was invited to exercise his liberty; it was enough that he should be fully persuaded in his own mind.

But while wide scope was given in regard to all matters not nominated in the profession, it was generally understood, and as a matter of course, that there was in the origin and character of the Bible, a profound peculiarity differentiating it from all other kinds of literature; it was supposed to contain a revelation from God in a sense quite unlike that in which other books may have been said to reveal his will and purpose. The word "inspiration" does not occur in the profession. It may be doubted if the framers had been led by any exigency to form, even in thought, a mature definition. It is certain, however, that Universalist thinkers very early thought they saw insuperable difficulties in what is called plenary or verbal inspiration—that which attributes the exact words of Scripture to God's dictation—law-givers, prophets, evangelists and apostles acting simply as amanuenses of the Holy Spirit. The Universalist mind at the beginning distinguished between the thought of the Bible and the literary record thereof; it has for near a century been common belief among Universalists that the spiritual substance of the Bible was divinely imparted, but that the literary form was left to the choice of the several writers. No

verbal enumeration can include all the beliefs special to Christian denominations; none the less, persons who hold in common certain basal principles of doctrine will, by inevitable logic, become quite generally agreed even as respects important details. There is a large body of Universalist thought, distinctly such, the particulars of which have no formal and authoritative statement, but one who has exceptional opportunities through a long period of years to note the development of interpretations, may without conceit assume to state, with a good degree of accuracy, what are the beliefs of his denomination on most matters of dogmatic interest. Though the great body of Universalists have delegated to no one the right to speak for each and all on the two-fold topic of this essay, the writer is quite confident that the number who may sharply dissent is quite small as compared to the number whose approval he confidently expects. Having thus made what he deems a needful explanatory statement, the writer will now proceed to an elucidation of his thought, and what he trusts will be generally—of course, not universally—accepted as the thought of his denomination on the topic, two-fold in form, of inspiration and revelation as these pertain to the Bible.

INSPIRATION.

Every matter of human belief must of necessity imply the presence of two widely dissimilar factors: (1) the nature, the laws of the operation of the believing faculties; and (2) the nature of the subject-matter of belief. To those who think, it will be evident that the elucidation of the one factor must never be confused or mixed with the elucidations of the other. Of course, the two elucidations are expected to

join in forming the composite result; but in each case the analysis and statement must be kept apart from those of the other. For an example, the science of geology is the product of certain intellectual faculties acting upon the crust of the earth; but no one would think of ascertaining the laws, the scope, and the limitations of the human intelligence by any examination of rocks and alluvial deposits; nor, on the other hand, would he think of determining the order and the contents of stratification by referring to treatises on mental philosophy However the threads may unite in the cord, each thread is distinct; it may be different, from every other. In any and every belief, on any and every subject, it will be found that the subjective and the objective enter, and that each has involved and utilized a line of reasoning special to itself. Mixed in a given result they never mix in the processes.

The immediate phase of discussion is inspiration, yet it is, of course, understood that a statement is to be made in regard to Biblical inspiration—inspiration as in particular results it connects itself with the subject-matter of the Biblical contents. For the purpose of this elucidation, which effects to be rigidly analytic, the distinction must be clearly made between "the immediate phase" and inspiration as it is modified by what occasions it and by the particular truths in the utterance of which it is instrumental. There is excuse for iterating and re-iterating and for strenuously insisting upon the importance of the distinction thus defined. It may be regarded as the initial act in the whole series of definitions and statements Unless there are "clear ideas" at the outset, the subject will be confused at every stage of the discussion. What is here attempted is almost pioneer work. In fact, until quite recent

years, criticism within the church has been restricted to the determining of the genuineness of the Biblical records and the endeavor to ascertain their dogmatic meaning; while mental philosophy, that which deals with the nature and offices of the intellectual and intuitional faculties of the believing soul, has been repelled as an intruder and a corrupter of faith. Only within the period of the last two or three decades have the criticism and philosophy which have been unsparingly dealt out by hostile and iconoclastic hands, and for long periods, by those outside of the church, been welcomed and used by friendly and constructive hands within the church. The field is as yet somewhat fallow, certainly that section is which this essay attempts to cover. Let the effort at needful analysis be, therefore, carefully made.

Inspiration is easily apprehended as a cord with, at least, three quite dissimilar strands:—for the ends of this essay it naturally and unmistakably breaks into three parts: (1) Inspiration, as an estate of the mental and spiritual faculties; (2) the influence under which this particular estate is evoked or quickened; and (3) the deliverances, the imparted truths, which come from the faculties while under the inciting influence—deliverances which are identical with revelation, the second phase of the general subject now under consideration. In music we easily and habitually make the distinctions here outlined. For an example, the musical nature of Handel, the incitement under which he composed the "Messiah;" and the "Messiah" itself isolated from its authorship.

I. It is one of the facts which, though they do not, indeed, go without the saying, are apprehended as facts on a distinct statement, that inspiration in its simple

self—considered as but an essential estate without regard to occasion or outcome—is purely a psychological question. Right here two very serious errors, causes of continuous mistakes running through entire processes of reasoning, have been made by conflicting or mutually hostile parties.

1. In a spirit of what has been deemed loyalty to the Bible, it has been alleged that God did something to a few elect souls, whereby these souls gave the world the several books which collectively made The Book To this extent the allegation is true; but it has been added, often in form and uniformly and unmistakably in accent and look, that this "something" is wholly inexplicable; that any attempt to explain, account for or even define it, is impious presumption. "God," it was virtually said "inspired certain persons to give to the world a revelation of his will, purpose and requirements; let the statement stop right here:—another word in the way of explanation is presumptuous; and particularly the attempt to explain in the light of philosophy is a most irrelevant, vain and impious conceit."

2. On the other hand it has been affirmed with equal confidence and with equal lack of intelligence, if not in the exact words, certainly in the manner and with the implication, that the psychology of the subject contains all that is to be said on the subject of inspiration either as respects the "emotion" or the outcome. It is conceded that Isaiah and Paul were inspired, and so were Homer, Milton, and Shakespeare; and this affirmation is thought to be as complete in what it directly affirms as in what by implication it is meant to deny.

The time was, but happily is past, in which influential divines thought that in pausing at the mysterious

"something," with mandatory intimations to ask no questions, they had done their full duty. It is to be hoped that the "influential divines" of the present may ere long reach a greater height of wisdom and be willing to see that psychology, authoritative in its sphere, has no vocation outside thereof, and that inspiration begins to differentiate and assume special qualities when considered in relation to its occasions, and to the modifying effect, the retroactive influence, of the truths which it makes known; the occasions and the revelations of inspiration can have but an indirect relation to psychological inquiry.

When it is said, as it often is, that the root of inspiration is ever the same, whether in Paul or Shakspeare, in person moved by the Holy Spirit, or in those moved by a secular spirit, everything depends upon how much is meant by the word "root;" if the meaning is rigidly restricted to the primitive function or operation of the divine faculties in man, there can be no objection to the statement; further, it is to be said that its contrary "cannot be construed to thought." When we say that we cannot conceive of an ox in the act of taking a lunar observation, or of an ape in the act of framing a syllogism, we expect to be understood as implying that the ox lacks the mathematical, and the ape the logical faculty. When, as a strictly analogous case, we affirm our inability to conceive of either ox or ape in the act of thinking the nineteenth psalm, or the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, we expect to be understood as implying that with both ox and ape the psychological conditions of the indispensable inspiration are lacking. When, therefore, we are confronted with the statement: "Inspiration of course; all who feel and speak truths are inspired—all, whether a Plato or an

Isaiah, a sage or a prophet, an Alexandrian teacher or an apostle of Jesus Christ," we answer "Yes and No:—Yes, if your inspiration means only the psychological function; but if you mean this inclusive of occasion and outcome, most emphatically, No!"

It is, therefore, conceded—conceded? rather it is affirmed—that *in the strictly generic phase* of the general statement, nothing distinguishes the inspiration of a Paul from that of a Chatham. If there is a differentiation—and this essay will firmly insist that there is—it comes at a later stage of the inquiry. It is essential to clear and consecutive thought as respects physics, philosophy, morals, or religion, to see that at the bottom—in the "roots" of faculty—prophet, evangelist, apostle, sage, and even savage, are identical. The notion that an Isaiah feels, thinks, and speaks in the use of one set of faculties, to a people who feel, think, and speak in the use of a different set of faculties, is grotesque in its absurdity; the simplest psychology rules out such a notion as unthinkable.

II. A fact of great importance, and therefore needing formal statement, is, however, palpable when clearly apprehended—the influence under which the emotional part of inspiration is evoked, *is foreign to, is external to, the faculties inspired.* Even the beautiful passage, (Psalm xxxix: 3,)

> "While I was musing the fire kindled:
> Then spake I with my tongue,"

furnishes no exception to the rule. The "musing" is an intellectual process, and it precedes, and is the occasion of, the emotion—the kindling of the fire. Though both experiences are within the same person, the one is exterior to the other. Further, the process of musing is generally centered upon things wholly exterior to

the individual There is a notable and quite representative example in the eighth psalm. The author first notes the heavenly bodies—moon, sun, and stars—musing upon which evokes the intellectual question how the creator thereof can be mindful of anything so relatively insignificant as man; then comes the inspiration; and then the revelation:

> "For thou hast made him but little lower than God,
> And crownest him with glory and honor."

The distinctions here made are anything but fancies; they are unmistakable facts. The emotional part of the process, the inspiration element, is subjective. That which by acting upon the soul evokes the inspiration is objective. It is strictly correct to say that man is inspired and that God inspires. The great theme will lose coherence if at any stage of reflection thereupon we forget, or are inconsistent with, the fact that the evoking power in inspiration is external to the inspired soul.

III. While in a preceding paragraph it has been conceded and asserted, and as the only thinkable proposition, that the "root" of inspiration is identical in all souls—the same in philosopher and saint, in Plato and in a Modoc chief, in pure religion and in all the superstitions, and for the sufficient reason that the essential is in all men the divine element that pledges glory and honor and immortality—it was announced that in the proper connection, this essay will firmly insist and expect to command the general assent in so doing, *on a commanding peculiarity in the inspiration that is distinctively Biblical.* An important step toward this is taken in the position just elucidated—that the inciting agency in inspiration is external to the soul. Now the truth, or even the error, or the mixture of truth and

error, which in its "rapt mood" the soul sees, or fancies it sees, has retroactive influence. We often say that one's conception of God affects his own character, and it is equally true that one's character in turn modifies his conception of God. The experience acts and reacts. We, by our personality, modify the company we keep; the company we keep in turn modifies our own temper and lives. The objective point is that whatever is seen in inspiration, itself reflects back upon and gives tone and specialty to the inspiration. In this statement is the key to the essence of the comprehensive topic now under discussion.

The statement breaks into two parts: 1. As respects the degree of inspiration; and 2, as respects the spiritual nature thereof.

1. The particular part of the statement which is here meant to imply that the degree of Biblical inspiration becomes the equivalent of a new character of inspiration, had it been made half a century ago—at a time when the theory of verbal inspiration was not only dominant, but also bore sway in the minds of those who had nominally cast it off—would have been received with impatience if not with revolt. But at that period, as Principal Tullock enables us to see, psychology had had no recognized place among the constructors of theology. The fundamental change in this regard which distinguishes and shapes modern theological judgments, has made most of the old teaching on the subject effete. True, Bishop Butler in his masterly *Analogy*, as long ago as 1736, virtually applied psychological principles to the defense of Christianity against the scepticism of his time, and by so doing he turned against the sceptic his own weapon. But the theologians of his time, and their successors for a long century,

did not really comprehend the nature of the new ally that made them invincible The most influential of even the truly conservative schools of the present will hardly venture to dispute in form the proposition here affirmed that the distinctive quality of Biblical inspiration is in part—only in part—in its towering quantity.

A new ally comes to the support of this affirmation and from a quarter hardly to have been predicted. The basal principle of Evolution—which gives much promise of taking its place as accepted science—is substantially to the effect that what have been regarded as specific differences in physical nature are, in fact, but variations of a common principle. The difference between the crab-apple and the Baldwin is so very great that practically it is a new and distinct quality of fruit; yet the Baldwin is but a modification, a very great one, of the crab. The old science admitted and affirmed this of the apple, but it insisted that no modification of the apple could make a pear or a peach. Evolution, however, denies the specific difference between all the fruits so far as the word specific is understood to mean a fixed character. In fact, according to Evolution, all so-called qualitative differences are but immense quantative differences. The immediate purpose is the seeking of a striking analogy or illustration, and the value of this must not depend upon the accuracy of the description given of evolutionary law; if the facts are not as here noted, it answers the practical purpose to treat them as suppositions.

Now, turn to the eighth, the nineteenth, and the hundredth psalms; to the sermon on the mount; to the record in the Book of Acts of the pentecostal quickening; to the second and fifteenth chapters of first Corinthians—noting here that these are but samples of what

is most abundant in the Scriptures—and who will put in comparison therewith, on the score of quality, any other religious literature? Who can question the matchless elevation of the inspiration which such Scriptures at once attest and embody—so profound indeed that quantity becomes to all intents and purposes a new quality?

2. Care has been taken to explain that quantitative difference accounts for the peculiar quality of inspiration "only in part." The further statement is not less essential: *The quality of inspiration must be largely affected by the special nature of the truth it affirms and makes clear.* Even after the concession that the influence which moved Shakespeare in the creation of "Hamlet" was in its "root," its primitive substance, identical with that which stirred Paul to write the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, how dissimilar is the inspiration as it acts on, and is re-acted upon by the subject-matter of that chapter, from the quality it assumed when it produced the soliloquy. Exalted and even sublime as are elect passages in the great drama, we pass from them to elect passages in the writings of the apostle who counted it a joy to suffer stripes in allegiance to a Divine Master. We suddenly, and with something of shock, find ourselves lifted into a new estate—in truth, a new world. Had Shakespeare attempted anything like the tone which pervades the Epistle to the Galatians, we should have pronounced him a lunatic; his subject-matter would not have accounted for it; no subject-matter proper to the dramatic art can make other than incongruous a tone and unction and manner of authority which are as natural to the apostle as the atmosphere to the lungs. A relentless psychology may compel us to regard Shakespear-

ian and Pauline inspirations as similar at the fountain, but words fail in any attempt to describe their difference in the stream.

In an essay describing the theology that can be preached, the late Albert Barnes made statements to the effect that, while some theologies can be presented only in spectacle and procession—as in ancient Egypt, and others be simply intellectually taught—that of Greece finding its chief vehicle in Socratic dialogue, Christianity alone can be preached. Athens was the birth-place of oratory, yet no Greek orator ever had a theme of discourse in theology, no Athenian ever heard a sermon, until Paul preached Christ on Mars Hill. Was this, is this, mis-statement? It does not so seem. Certain it is that to every one born of the spirit, to every one baptised into the Gospel life, there comes a new vision, and the words, "the pure in heart see God," are self-attested. The "divine afflatus," whatever its quality at the root, takes on the hue and specialty of the truth which it recognizes and into which it enters to suffuse, illumine, and to speak with resistless power.

REVELATION.

The incipiency of the subject of Revelation may be said to be substantially in that of inspiration. It has, therefore, had what may be called a germinal treatment in what has already been discussed. This consideration may considerably lessen the treatment which the second phase of our comprehensive theme demands; none the less, distinct statements, quite special to revelation, may and should be attempted.

Alike in popular and in critical thought, revelation is the correlate of inspiration. One may be called the vehicle, and the other the matter conveyed. All Scrip-

ture profitable for doctrine, life and conduct, is given by inspiration.

This popular form of statement is sufficiently accurate for directly practical ends. Yet, as a little reflection will show, the statement is a figure of speech. As there is constant danger that elucidation may confound and interchange the figurative and the literal, there is need of more precise and guarded definition. Instead of limiting ourselves to such phraseology as, "Certain truths are revealed by inspiration," it will be more philosophic and nearer verbal accuracy, to make this formula: "The act of revelation, while one is in the estate of inspiration, is vision; revelation itself is the result—as objective reality it is the thing seen."

In literal phrase, spiritual realities are quite distinct from what are called facts—certainly from events. The essential, the spiritual substances of revelation, cannot be imparted; that is, they cannot be passed over from one mind to another. They are not freight nor merchandise to be tossed and caught as one may often see that bricks are tossed by one workman and caught by another. They are not labelled for conveyance. On the contrary, spiritual realities are objects of the inner sight; in the correlated and rapt mood the eye of the soul, in the light of its inspiration, sees them. In the special purpose of this elucidation, let this be a standard or unit of measurement.

The mistake, however, would be serious, and the cause of continuous mistakes, were we to fancy that the Biblical writers, or their interpreters, had any such "standard of measurement" in all or any of their thoughts. If there is any one thing in regard to which all Biblical critics and interpreters, of all schools, are in perfect accord, it is in the seeing and asserting that

the Bible is at the furthest remove from a philosophic treatise, or from a form at all analogous to such a treatise, or from any attempt at the linguistic precision proper to such a treatise. Whatever of exception is to be made in regard to the Pauline epistles, particularly the Epistle to the Romans, no part of the Bible is put, or was intended to be put, in the terms of trained scholarship. Its words are for all men—for the illiterate and the wise, for sages and the common people; but more particularly for those who heard Jesus with special gladness, while it was and is the instructor of the wise as no other book or series of books has ever been, addressing them in terms and tones of special superiority and authority. Excepting certain parts of the Pauline epistles and statements that are distinctively historical, the Biblical style is grandly figurative and poetical. Discarding the form and the intent of the manual, its instructions and exhortations and illuminations are given in events, in biography, allegory, parable, and often in startling oriental metaphor. Of the persons selected of God as mediums for the communication of his will and purposes, upon whom his spirit was poured in exceptional measure, it may be doubted if any of them could have given a definition of the word "revelation." They spoke as the spirit moved them to utterance, probably without any introspective thought or questioning as to the distinctiveness of the process. Their words and often their manner were those of the common people of their time and place. This great peculiarity on the part of men who affected to be religious teachers, was the occasion of Greek contempt—to Attic and Corinthian scholars it was foolishness; under divine guidance it was the weak things of the world confounding the wise.

The general statement of Biblical revelation as inclusive of an act and contents gives occasion for discrimination or differentiation in respect to at least four particulars. They, however, so interlace, mutually involve each the other, that some verbal repetition must be pardoned—may well be, if there is any good degree of success in making clear and tangible to thought the distinctive quality of each of the several definitions:

I. First of all it is to be noted that the essence of revelation, as we have it in the Scriptures must not be confounded with its incidents. Recent discussions in various forms of literature dwell upon the vital difference between "kernel" and "shell," "substance" and "envelope," "thought" and the "dress" of thought. In some instances, particularly with those whose temper is iconoclastic, who have a keener relish for the destructive than for the constructive, it will be iterated and reiterated that the envelope has but superficial importance, and may be discarded without peril to the essential contents. This is shallow reasoning. It is contrary to nature, for it is in nature that, until the harvest, kernel and shell must grow together, and that during the period of this mutual growth the attention of the husbandman must be almost exclusively devoted to the "envelope." In no small proportion of cases there is no occasion for a mechanical or arbitrary separating of the kernel from its encasement. The ripening bean itself bursts, and even drops from the pod. The iconoclasm of nature is never forced, cannot be forced. It makes no vehement attack upon the envelope; this of itself often steps aside as its mission is fulfilled.

The distinction, however, between the substance and the incidental accomplishments of Biblical revelation is of profound importance. It is indicated by the oft-made distinction: "The Bible as a revelation and as 'containing' one." It marks the difference between the spiritual truths, and the setting of these truths in events, in personal experiences, in social customs, in an historic unfolding. Let the "standard of measurement" be restated; the essentials of revelation cannot be passed on from one mind to another; always present, they are seen, simply seen, in the mood of inspiration. But facts—whether in events, historic associations or local descriptions—are of a totally different character. These may be "tossed and caught," may pass on by "deed of conveyance" duly signed and attested. Hence, all Biblical facts that attest a divine supervision—and of such there are many—may be conveyed by "word of mouth." The substance does indeed need the envelope, but is not it. Each has vital value in its order and place, but neither is the other. The Bible as a "literary record of inspiration" is a transcript in popular language of divine things spiritually discerned. If Paul and John were spiritually inspired and to such a degree and upon such matter that their inspiration had a distinctive quality—as has been maintained in preceding paragraphs—they had in their rapt moods visions, the reality of which they henceforth knew, but the nature of which, the varied contents of which, they might not, in secular moods, have been able to analyze or define.

II. If now revelation considered as an act is vision, must not the persons to whom its contents were made known, are yet being made known, share with prophets and apostles in the same inspiration? It must be said

that the question is a proper one and merits an answer.

Without doubt we can fully know the mind of Christ only as in all spiritual things we grow up into him as our head—none the less, a smaller talent can appreciate a greater. Lesser minds than Plato may comprehend and practically apply Plato. The divine mind has meaning and application for all who bear in any degree, no matter how small, the divine image; it has meaning for savage and peasant as well as for sages and scholars. Christianity would, indeed, be a most impracticable matter on the supposition that it is either wholly useless or else wholly operative. In fact, between these two extremes it is felt, it is a power, it produces results, all the way. It is, therefore, not indispensable that one in order to understand an apostle must be an apostle. The accomplished and thorough critic, intensely appreciative of the work upon which he applies his testing analysis, may be wholly incapable of producing its equal, or anything that even approximates its excellence. In fact, a critic may have full appreciation of a statue, a painting or a poem, and yet his soul be perplexed with the question: "How could the master have created a thing so wonderful, so grand?"

III. It is axiomatic in current Bibical criticism that *revelation is progressive.* It is this in at least two regards, and "clear ideas" require that the line between them shall be distinctly drawn.

1. There is progress in the particular of *the gradual unfolding of human intelligence.* The same statement, and this a truth in every regard, makes one impression on the mind of a Hottentot, and a very different one on the mind of an Oxford instructor. On the supposition that the Bible is of uniform intellectuel,

ethical and spiritual quality all the way from Genesis to Revelation—a position, however, which very few in this age would have the hardihood to assume—it would *in effect* be one book to those who dwelt in tents in the patriarchal epoch, another book to those who constituted Israel and framed the Pentateuch, yet another to those who appreciated Isaiah and Micah, and yet dissimilar and far more exalted to those who heard the word of power in the sermon on the mount and the word of logic in the Epistle to the Romans.

2. There is progress in the very different particular that the Bible is *epochal in its contents*, adapting its statements, its codes, its rituals, to the mental and moral estate of the people as these change in the advancement of society. In this regard mankind in its entirety has an unfolding analogous to the experience of the individual in the passage from childhood to youth, from youth to manhood, from manhood to maturity. To the child it speaks as to a child, but when the child becomes a man, mature statements take the place of the things proper and expedient to be said to children. Doubtless many things said to children in the earliest years of their instruction, and many things said to them while sitting on college benches, would seem to be contradictory to a superficial mind, a mind incapable of taking into account the difference alike in matter and manner between the requirements of untaught youth and those which come after a substantial advance in wisdom and discipline.

IV. Finally, revelation is often *a storage for later use*. The literary record, therefore, holds in verbal formulas and biographical examples, matters which for certain minds may be a dead-letter to-day, yet a living fountain to-morrow. In regions where agriculture de-

pends upon irrigation, the full reservoirs may seem useless, a pure waste, in the season of snow and frost. What are they when July and August heats parch the earth and threaten at their roots, corn, flower and shrub? A remark often made is in these terms: "That can be no revelation to me which I do not understand." The remark is based upon a fractional part of the meaning of the word. It does not take into account the incipient faculty which, when unfolded, may make every way intelligible what in the immediate present is but a form of words. In fact, the highest wisdom may for the hour be occult. It simply bides its time when the now hidden things shall be brought into the clear light.

There can, of course, be no literary "storage" of religious truth for any creature not endowed with the religious sense; for such there neither is, nor ever can be, a Biblical revelation. The reservoir will never fertilize a bed of rock. Irrigation implies the possibility of responsiveness in the soil. It is true that passages from the sermon on the mount, spoken in the ear of a babe, may make no other impression than would follow if spoken in the ear of a pet spaniel. Yet it is a revelation in the one case, in that there is a latent faculty for its apprehension, while in the other case it never can be other than meaningless vocalization. The words: "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and prudent, and didst reveal them unto babes," (Matt. xi: 25), doubtless had an intended reference to the disciples; yet, they would have been pertinent had they been spoken for infants in their cradles. The difference between "that which I *do not* understand," and "that which I *can never* understand,"—the declarations hav-

ing reference to the contents of revelation—is profound.

This discussion of the two-fold subject of inspiration and revelation was undertaken in the conviction that the subject needed elucidation in two regards—the rescuing it from the toils of definitions so generic that its specific character was lost sight of; and further, that the whole matter needed a definite and intelligible adjustment to the laws of thought and of spiritual intuition. The essay which here closes will have utility, will render needful service, to the extent in which its definitions and statements further the comprehensive end thus outlined.

Read in Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 13.

XIII.

THE UNIVERSALIST IDEA OF SALVATION.

BY CHARLES H. EATON, D. D.

ANSELM, the saintly Archbishop of Canterbury, anticipated the Universalist idea of salvation when he said, "I would rather be in hell without a fault than in heaven with one." The modern conception of salvation does not emphasize locality but character. It does not deal with place and time but with qualities of mind and heart that are independent of place and time. In other words, salvation is a state and a process. As a state it involves conviction of sin, a clear consciousness that we are out of harmony with the moral universe of which we are a part, and the voluntary consecration of our lives to obedience of the divine law. This consecration to a higher life is preceded by penitence for a sinful past which serves as the motive to reformation. In an incomplete sense it is true, that, when the sinful break with past and turn toward the divine life, that is, "are converted," they are saved. But this conversion is by no means the whole of salvation. It is but the

first step in an eternal movement. Salvation is a process as well as a state. It is a process because it is a growth;—beginning with the first cry for knowledge and right, but complete only when man becomes "perfect as his Father, who is in heaven, is perfect." Salvation in the Christian sense is not so much rescue from something outside ourselves as escape from something within ourselves. Its method is not mechanic but dynamic. It is not the successful working out of a system, but the creation of a new personality.

In the earlier view the sequences (supposed) of sin held the chief place; now our attention is drawn to the sin itself. We have, to a considerable extent, accomplished what the woman of Alexandria undertook to do when she went through the streets of the ancient city, bearing in one hand a burning torch and in the other a leathern bottle of water, crying to the multitude that with the water she would quench the flames of hell and with the torch set fire to heaven, so that the people should cease to do evil merely from fear of punishment, and not do good for the sake of reward. We have learned that the only really valuable service is that which springs from unselfish love. Hell is a spiritual and personal fact. It has no objective existence. Heaven is a state rather than a locality. The soul is organized for truth and love. So long as it fails to reach the end of its being, so long there is discord, pain. Salvation is getting into our true life by recognizing our allegiance to God as He is revealed in nature and the Bible. One of the chief characteristics of salvation is faith; faith in God and man; in God's goodness and man's moral capacity; faith in the power of truth and the forward movement of humanity. But the dominant force in the saved life is love—love for God

as the ruler of the universe and the Father of mankind, and love for man as a member of a universal brotherhood, who, in spite of all moral deformity, wears the seal of divine sonship. In the older view, salvation was the appropriation of a divine satisfaction for sin. Man under the bondage of inherited sin is "totally disabled and made opposite to all good and inclined to all evil." By the fall of Adam his nature has been so changed that his will is enslaved and he can do nothing pleasing to God. He is the passive subject of divine grace or wrath. There is, perhaps, no truth of modern times more generally accepted than that of heredity, so far as tendencies of life are concerned. But the inheritance of moral reponsibility for the deeds of a past in which we have had no conscious existence is absurd.

I may be affected by the wrong doing of the first man and woman, for there is a very real sense in which the "sins of the fathers are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generations," but I am in no sense accountable for their action. Each man is born with freedom (limited), and must stand before the judgment of God as revealed in law, responsible for his own acts alone. Every man comes into his own paradise, and sin committed drives him out into the world, while the flaming sword of violated law flashes between him and his innocence. But one of the best days for humanity was when Eve plucked and ate the apple from the tree of knowledge. It was the beginning of virtue, and virtue is certainly better than innocence. In a very true sense the fall of Adam "was a fall upwards." It was the birthday of civilization. The Universalist emphatically denies the total depravity of the soul. Humanity may be in ruins, but the ruins are noble and still retain the lines of strength and beauty and the

possibility of reconstruction. To use a more fitting comparison, since man's will is not inert but active in the work of salvation, the human soul is like the hermit who locks himself in a cell where there are darkness and disease and death, but retains the key by which he may open the door and walk into sunshine and life.

There are none who have fallen so low that conscience ceases to upbraid. There is no bondage to evil that completely destroys the power of choice. There is no degrading influence of passion that can altogether kill love or the desire for nobler attainment. One of the chief characteristics of Christ's teaching was the inestimable worth of man—not man in the abstract but man in the concrete. To Christ no terms are too extravagant to express the feeling of God to man. The measure of man's worth is found alone in the statement that God "so loved the world that He sent his only begotten Son" to die on the cross that it might be saved. Mean in attainment, splendid in prophecy is the lowliest peasant, the most insignificant and craftiest publican of Capernaum or Jerusalem. At Christ's teaching, childhood became sacred, the symbol and basis of his kingdom. The soil of passion became holy ground because of the latent purity of the fallen woman. The publicans and sinners, whom priests and Pharisees visited with scorn and stones of death, Christ took into his bosom warming them into penitence and leading them to the service of love. There is nothing more certainly taught in the New Testament than the high estimate God puts upon every son and daughter whom he has created. Man is great because he is divine. No force of time, no evil agency within or without, can effectually efface the likeness to God in the human heart nor quench the energy to do. Though man

may go far from the Father's house and wasting his spiritual inheritance, feed on husks among the swine, yet he cannot altogether forget the home from which he came, nor can he so far lose himself, that under the shock of punishment, or at the call of persuasive love, he cannot come to himself and turn his steps toward it again. The picture of man's moral condition, drawn by a prominent theologian, which represents him as a "corpse festering in the grave" is as false to the Gospel teaching as it is abhorrent to enlightened common sense. The fetters of sin are like the silken cords woven for Fenrir of the northern mythology. They bend and writhe and hold as flax and iron cannot do. But unlike the fabled cords, there is one imperial force that can break them. It is the will of man nurtured and fired by the power of God. Salvation is indeed of grace. It is not earned in the sense that man can pay the price of so great a gift. But it is not thrust upon him. It cannot be received without an effort of the will and that intense and constant. And it is also true that no will can become so dead that it may not be roused to ask, to seek, to find.

The Universalist's idea of salvation also affirms that salvation is universal. This is what gives him his distinctive name and his position among those who have a really essential truth to proclaim. Partial salvation to the Universalist is the denial both of the teaching of revelation and reason. A right definition of grace makes it include all the sons and daughters of God. The process of salvation, begun with the first human being on the earth, will be continued into the future life until all shall be brought to the knowledge of the truth. At last, when love is regnant in all hearts, salvation will be complete. The gift of salvation is not confined to

any one period in the history of the world nor to a favored people or nation. To construct a scheme of salvation that shall work only with the smallest minority of the human race were to do a thing impossible to a divine being. The methods of salvation are worked out by many teachers, pagan as well as Christian. Wherever character-building is going on, there salvation is under way. Christianity is not a cunningly devised and mechanical scheme by which the knaves of the Christian era are saved and the philosophers and saints of the heathen world eternally condemned. Wherever there is life there is God. Wherever God is, there the processes of salvation are under way. To declare that God burns in his rage against the heathen and mercilessly turns them into hell because, not knowing him as He is revealed in Christ, they have failed to obey him, is an impeachment of his justice and a denial of his love. By his very nature, by the creative fiat, man everywhere must be open to the breathings of the Holy Spirit. God speaks in different degrees of power, but as man is prepared to receive—to Moses on Sinai and Zoroaster in the valley of Persia, to the prophets of India and Palestine, to priests and people, to the learned and the simple—now, as always, God in the soul, He must make himself known. To limit revelation to the Bible of the Christian is to finally destroy religion. It follows then that to limit salvation to those who have known Jesus is to take God out of salvation. Jesus saves because he is the truth of God coming into relation with the will of man and giving birth to character. But the truth of God is confined to no one teacher, however exalted he may be, and character based upon divine truth, is found among all peoples and is the only witness and limit of salvation.

Salvation, the Universalist declares, is not confined to this life. Repentance is the door of salvation. Repentance, however, is possible on this or the other side of the line of death. Death has no significance whatever so far as the essential processes of salvation are concerned. The resurrection must bring a clearer vision, a keener sensitiveness to the divine approval or disapproval. Standing in the light of the new day, our sins will be seen in their true relations. Interpretations will be given of the struggles, the victories and defeats of life. But it is true in a sense that "as death leaves us so the resurrection will find us." Passing the narrow line which separates life and death, our thought, affection and will, will remain the same; the character we have formed will undergo no change. As we lay down the burdens of earth, we take up the obligations of heaven. Relieved of the body of flesh, its weaknesses and the temptations that inhere in it, but, notwithstanding, the same human beings that walked the ways of earth. Not only does the soul remain the same, subject to the impulses, the restraints, the hopes and opportunities of the law of God, but everywhere in this life and every other life, we are under the dominion of the same power and love. Wherever and whenever a soul turns to God, forgiveness and help will be granted. The sun shines at one end of the covered bridge we call death. Does it not shine at the other end as well? The love of God which has sent prophets, teachers and saviours to the world from the beginning, the divine patience that believes and works and waits though men stone and kill his messengers, and at last crucify his beloved Son, cannot, it is believed, change so vitally at the moment of death. There can be no salvation without repentance. But there is no reason in philosophy or revelation for

supposing that the opportunity to repent is confined to the short period of earthly life. On the contrary, there is every reason for believing that God will yearn over his children until he awakens in them an answering affection. He will persuade and punish in the future life as in this until the last sinner gropes his way from "outer darkness into day."

Read the problem of sin in the light of the general teaching of the New Testament as to the nature and character of God and universal salvation seems certain. Christ's position and promises point to universal hope. It has come to be the belief of the most intelligent, as well as devout believers, that there is no possible justification of the divine government on any other theory. A perfect God implies a perfect creation, not as seen in process, perhaps, but in final product. The salvation of one soul involves the salvation of all. The salvation of the mass of humanity would not be possible without the salvation of each. The solidarity of the race is such that when one member suffers all members suffer with it. This must be as true in the glory of heaven as among the shadows of earth. To represent God as gloating over the sufferings of the damned, or rejoicing in an infinite *auto-da-fe* is to call in question his benevolence. To picture him standing hopelessly and helplessly before triumphant sin is to deny his power. To describe him as sitting on his throne surrounded by a minority of the children he has created, and Satan as laughing with savage glee, surrounded by the great majority of the souls of men, is to dethrone him altogether and place the divine sceptre in the hands of the devil.

No such theory of the universe is possible. God created the world. He never will permit it to swing

so far on the tangent of evil that he cannot bring it back again. He confers free-will upon man. But this liberty has well marked limits. To give man power to forever thwart the divine will were to change order to chaos and unhinge the world from its divine bearings. The only representation commended by reason and taught by revelation, the only motive to repentance and reformation that can prove sufficient in this and every other state, is found in the belief that "good will be the final goal of ill." That the age tends to this conception of the issue of the struggle between good and evil is seen in the constant changes going on in the theological world as to doctrine and fellowship. Even the Roman Catholic church, the most conservative of Christian bodies, is debating whether there be no "happiness in hell." The placing of the article in the "Index Expurgatorius" does not in any way change the opinions of the devout thinkers in that communion. The growth of wiser criticism, the softening of the manners and the customs of civilization, have united in making it almost impossible for the thoughtful to accept the old doctrine of endless punishment. First, the tears of pity fell upon the flames of hell. Then reason quenched them and battered down the walls of the eternal dungeon. Then love and aspiration, quickened by Christ, unveiled the face of an angry judge to find that of a compassionate Father. First there was the scurrying of the vanguard of the armies of men into the city of refuge. Now the closed doors open once more and will remain open night and day till the last straggler in the rear drags himself to the place of victory and rest.

Universalism then affirms the complete triumph of good over evil. It finds the good tidings of the Gos-

pel in the belief it gives that God will save to the uttermost; that while every sin is inexorably punished, since the revelation of cause and effect is inevitable and eternal, the tendency of nature is to cure, not kill, and in the certain issue of the conflict between sin and virtue, virtue will be victorious and God will wipe all tears from all eyes as He swings a moral universe into the orbit of order and righteousness.

The test of salvation is easily understood and applied. No uncertainty exists in the Universalist view such as is displayed by those who accept the doctrines of election and predestination. The keenest mental suffering has been experienced by those who feared they might be in danger of eternal torment. Arbitrary assignment to heaven or hell, by an unknown and unknowable power, for such God must be if this doctrine be true, gives rise to uncertainty and despondency. Patient, reverent and loving men and women, in almost every way Christlike, through the acceptance of mechanical notions of salvation and its methods, have found the Gospel not a source of joy but of deepest misery. Many have become confused, anxious, even insane, on the subject of religion. Some of those who have been most conspicuous in the world of literature have lived under the dread of endless punishment until incapacitated for a healthy religion.

The test of salvation is simple and effective. We are not compelled to throw ourselves into the future. We are to ask plain and every-day questions: What is a man's speech? Is it honest and reverent? What are his conduct and spirit? The measure of worth is evident. "By their fruits ye shall know them." We are not saved until we are living good lives. The extent of our salvation is the extent of our virtue, our

faith and our love. We are not living good lives because we are saved, but we are saved because we are living good lives. It is not that we are able to be virtuous because in some mysterious way the blood of Christ has cleansed us from sin. But because our sense of right, our love of virtue, makes it no longer possible for us to crucify Christ by the commission of sin. We do not need to wait for any great day of assize. Every day is a judgment day. With the establishment of the Gospel began the higher obligation and the severer judgment which accompany the complete revelation. An increase of knowledge involves a deeper responsibility. There may be crises in the moral experience. But there can be nothing truer than that every day is a judgment day, and that the moral register is made in the living soul every moment of conscious existence. The fires of hell burn not beyond the horizon of life more than in depraved and sinning hearts on our right hand and our left. The light of heaven may shine on us here as certainly as when we stand by the Eternal Throne.

What is the relation of Christ to this salvation? Many theories have been held as to the work of Christ in salvation. But they may all be reduced to two distinctive ones, the sacrificial and the moral. The sacrificial includes all the doctrines, and they are numerous, of the vicarious atonement of Christ. Sometimes it is supposed that Christ has assumed the guilt and the punishment of man and at other times that he has borne his punishment only. But whatever the view, it is always taught that God is to be reconciled to man by the sacrifice of Christ and that by his death we are justified. The Universalist denies all these conclusions of system builders. He enforces the moral view. This

rejects the idea of the wrath of God and affirms his fatherly love. It declares the doctrine of vicarious atonement irrational in theory, and, as the universe is organized, impossible of execution. It removes the face of an angry judge and put in its place the face of a judicial Father. Christ, says Universalism, is the manifestation of God, the express image of the divine glory. Jesus Christ exhibits in his life and character both the state and process of salvation. The cross, though not expiation for sin, in a very real sense, is the expression of God's abhorrence of sin as well as the revelation of his love for man. Jesus was human like ourselves, subject to the same temptations, disappointments and sorrows. But by the exercise of his will and by reliance upon God, he was able to win a victory over all. He lays down the principles of the divine life, provides an example for imitation, and what is even more important, supplies the necessary motive and impulse. He exhibits in his life complete harmony of the human and the divine and teaches us how we may at the same time live in peace with God and in helpful and happy relations with our fellows. He reconciled the demands of time and eternity and in the midst of the doubts and confusions of life, shows how we may nourish an abiding hope and create a symmetrical character.

But Christ's power as a Saviour does not end with the historic and ethical element. In the process of salvation there is possible for every soul the personal communion which Christ gave to his disciples. There was something in their Master that eluded definition. He was greater than anything he ever said or did. And when in personal contact with him their power to overcome was vastly increased. Under the influence of his spirit, vision grew clearer, will stronger, hearts more

restful. The same power he gives to his disciples in all times. To the tempted, the lonely, to those who seek for the light, to those who battle with self and with evil, Christ comes as a personal helper and friend. It may be impossible to completely analyze this relation which exists between Jesus and his followers, but all those who have had any deep experience in the Chris tian life feel its reality and power. The humblest and most exalted have discovered that in Christ they find necessary guidance and inspiration. For all sorts and conditions of men the Son of God and the Son of Man has unbounded sympathy. Now, as in the ancient times he is moved by an irresistible impulse to preach the Gospel of the kingdom to the poor, to heal the broken hearted, to bring deliverance to the captive and recovery of sight to the blind. He confounds error by truth in the nineteenth century as in the first. At his touch hate is turned to love, unrest to rest, and unbelief to a deep and abiding faith. This love of Christ, which floods like the tide his soul, is limited to no time or place. It is confined to no favored people. It seeks the worshipper at the altar of Buddha as well as the one who bows before the throne of Jehovah. It expresses itself in the lofty hymns of the Vedas. It wings with power the maxims of Confucius. It burns in the high places of Schiraz and Mecca and adds force and value to the moralities of Solomon and Aurelius.

Wherever, indeed, in this world or any other, under one name or another, a sinner turns in disgust from his sin; wherever and whenever trembling lips are lifted in prayer for help, Christ responds with effective aid. Death and the grave can raise no barrier between the souls of the outcast and the saving grace of Christ. It is to the living and present Christ to which we are

directed in the Gospel and the epistles. He lives forevermore mighty to save. "He shall reign until he has put all things under his feet." And all this is true because Jesus Christ is the vehicle of the divine love that must of necessity penetrate all parts of the universe, breathe in all prayers, sing in all songs, speak in all revelations, nerve the arms and inspire the hearts of all saviours of men in every country and every time.

This conception of Christ in his relation to salvation lifts him above all mere mechanics of religion and makes him the personal Saviour of each soul through the impartation of the divine love of which he is the expression and the medium Salvation, then, in the Universalist view, is character based upon eternal principles of right. While it is denied to no lover of truth and righteousness, and is won. where the name of Christ has never been heard, it is most completely realized through the instruction, example and inspiration of Christ. Penitence is its mete; perfection, its goal. It can alone be realized when it is universal. In the far-off, but coming time, the divine love will touch into life and love every created being.

Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 13.

XIV.

THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

BY REV. MASSENA GOODRICH.

HIGHER criticism pre-supposes a lower criticism. The latter deals chiefly with the text of the Scriptures. The Jews for ages took great pains with the books of the Old Testament, and Christian scholars have spent much time in obtaining a reliable text of the New Testament. Westcott and Hort think indeed that the edition of the New Testment which they compiled reproduces with entire accuracy fifty-nine out of every sixty words that the apostles penned. If the classical scholar could claim that an equal proportion of the words that Demosthenes thundered, or Xenophon or Thucydides wrote, is supplied in any edition of the speeches of the one, or the histories of the other, would it not be a remarkable fact?

The higher criticism takes a step farther. Recollecting that there are sixty-five different books in the Bible, written by forty or fifty different authors, it inquires whether these books were actually written by the persons to whom they are ascribed. At what time indeed were they composed? To whom were they ad-

dressed? What were the circumstances of the writers and of the people to whom they wrote? Important questions these; and if asked in a reverent spirit and answered in an ingenuous manner, the honor of God and the welfare of souls, will not be imperiled. Faith will be likely to be fostered, devotion deepened, and godliness promoted.

Such criticism must not, however, be captious. It has to encounter in the outset a presumption. What preoccupies the ground, specially if it has come down from gray antiquity, is not ruthlessly to be displaced. It is not a violent assumption that devout and intelligent scholars had some reason for their regard for certain books. They were aware of apparent difficulties in narratives and would not have let them remain if the evidence in their favor had not seemed overwhelming. Further than this, it is not lightly to be assumed that the rank and file of the Jews or the early Christians lacked shrewdness. That the Jews were not over credulous their whole history proves. Again and again were they taxed by the prophets with wilfulness and unbelief. That the early Christians, oft menaced with deadly persecution, would have demanded conclusive proof of the genuineness of the books they received, is a fair conclusion. The fact then that the Jews from a very early time received the Old Testament, as containing a revelation from God, is a presumption in its favor. That the Christians too, received from an early time the four Gospels and the balance of the New Testament, is weighty evidence in their favor.

If it is averred that both these classes were mistaken in these matters, the burden of proof rests on those who question the integrity or authority of Holy Writ. The Scriptures hold the ground till their genu-

ineness is fairly disproved. Mere gainsayal is not argument. Strong reasons must be given for reversing the judgment of our predecessors. The present generation has not a monopoly of wisdom. There were intellectual giants sometimes in former ages. In so far as the higher criticism bases its conclusions on the impossibility of miracles, it assumes what no man is bound to concede. God is in nature and in providence, and the tokens of His might are so manifest in heaven above and earth beneath, that no man can rightly undertake to set limits to his power. If he has seen at any time that a wondrous display of his energy will rebuke human arrogance or conceit, and wring from the tongue the ejaculation, "My Lord and my God," it may be a sufficient reason for his baring his arm.

In the outset the higher criticism busies itself with the Pentateuch. As the books comprehended under that designation have been regarded as the earliest books of the Old Testament, their genuineness has been brought in question. As the book of Genesis deals with some matters whereof Moses, its reputed author, could not have had personal knowledge, its authority has been impugned. It has been alleged, indeed, that it was written ages after the Hebrew leader passed away, and is a compilation from ancient legends or documents, woven into a treatise by nobody knows who. Now that it contains traditions or extracts from ancient documents can be safely admitted. The Hebrews and their ancestors manifestly kept genealogical records. That with these they related facts which had happened anterior to their day, as well as occurences in their own experience, no sensible man need question, and that Moses used some of these registers in composing his first book is perfectly credible.

The book shows, however, by its majestic simplicity, its artlessness, and by its very style, that it was composed by a single author, and that he was a man of devout spirit, masterly intellect, and of great research. The treatise has unity. It is a sublime work, manifestly written by a man on whom God had richly poured out his Spirit. There is a grandeur, a comprehensiveness in the book, that makes it unique. But if any school of critics undertake to say that there are in the sacerdotal code of the next three books of the Pentateuch things that show a revision subsequent to the days of Moses. this may be safely granted. Circumstances changed in the condition of the Hebrew nation. While under the special leadership of Moses, they were a race of nomads. But when after his death they entered the land of promise, and became a stable nation, regulations that sufficed for a vast horde of Arabs might well give place to different rules. Hence the possibility of a revision of codes.

So much any ingenuous man may properly concede. A sound critic may well contend, however, that the book of Deuteronomy is a book actually written by Moses. There is a consistent use of the first person in the narrative. "At the time Jehovah said me." Only the account of the law-giver's death is necessarily imputed to a later hand. In all the archæological facts and historic narrations in the Pentateuch, indeed, it is impossible to conceive of a writer's showing such precise knowledge of the land of the Nile, as it was in the days of the Pharaohs, unless he lived in the time of the Exodus. Modern exploration is proving too that the writer of the Pentateuch had a knowledge of the desert between Egypt and Palestine which could only have been obtained by marching over its trackless waste

—a knowledge that no Hebrew coming from Babylonian exile, nine hundred or a thousand years after, could possess. Indeed, there seems reason to believe that the Jews of subsequent centuries inherited so traditional a horror for Horeb and its solemn defiles that no one of them for ages visited the mount of God save the Prophet Elijah.

The literary characteristics of the Pentateuch show its early composition. Of course it were rash to say that no reader of the majestic Hebrew of that series of books can fail to be convinced of their unity; but one can safely say that there is a charm in the original of those records which makes one affirm, the writer of these narratives must habitually have walked with God. He speaks as if he had listened to Jehovah's audible words. There is a breadth and scholarship in the conception and even the words of the writer which strengthen the belief that he was versed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. Nay, he is marked by a sublimity of thought, a positiveness of conviction of unseen realities, which he could best have gained from personal intercourse with Jehovah on the summit of Sinai. The expressions he utters reminds us of a native of Egypt, and of a man who had breathed during his adult life the free air of the desert, rather than of an exile just returned to Palestine from Mesopotamia.

On the strength of internal evidence more indeed could be said in confirmation of the fact that the Pentateuch, with the qualifications mentioned, was really the work of Moses. A passing remark on the other book of the Hexateuch may be proffered. In the judgment of scholars with whom Hebrew is vernacular this book is one of the most ancient Jewish compositions. And the fact that Joshua so often calls the attention of

his hearers, as Moses had done, to incidents in their personal experience in confirmation of his words, shows an ingenuousness that adds to the credibility of his narrative. "For I speak not with your children, who have not known, and who have not seen the chastisement of Jehovah, your God, his greatness, his mighty hand, and his outstretched arm; * * * but your eyes have seen all the great work of Jehovah which he did;" said the Jewish law-giver; and Joshua makes a similar appeal. Only contemporaries would have acknowledged the pertinency of such language. If the Jews of eight or nine centuries after had been the first to hear such an appeal, would they not have asked, Why were not these records known to our fathers and rehearsed by them to us from our earliest childhood?

Space is not allowed in this brief essay for extended remarks on any of the other books of the Old Testament. Suffice it to say that they refer again and again to the law as a well known series of statutes The nineteenth psalm strikes the keynote of many an utterance: "The law of Jehovah is perfect, converting the soul." The word "thorah," with prefixes or suffixes, or with Jehovah, Elohim, or Moses connected with it, occurs in the Hebrew Bible no less than two hundred and forty-six times. The frequent recurrence of this word in the historical books, in Prophets from Amos to Malachi, in the Psalms, in Proverbs, and in Job, is a presumption that something real and authoritative must have existed from a very early date. In many of the books indeed, alleged to be written after the age of Joshua or of David, the salient facts as to the origin of the Hebrew race, their voluntary removal from the land of Canaan, their exodus from Egypt, the giving of the law on Sinai, and the mighty help afforded by Jehovah, to his chosen

people in the desert, and in the conquest of Palestine, which are narrated in the Pentateuch, are mentioned as facts with which the nation is familiar. They form the theme of exultant psalms, or the grounds of earnest expostulation and warning.

On literary grounds the skillful Hebrew scholar affirms that the Pentateuch was the earliest composition of the Old Testament. Philologists speak of the golden age and the silver age of the Hebrew literature. The exiles returning from the Babylonian captivity were incapable of writing volumes so sublime as Moses penned. But passing from this matter it may be observed that some critics disparage a part of the prophecy of Isaiah. They aver that not all that is included in the writings of the son of Amoz was actually composed by him. Very well. If it can be clearly shown that the last twenty-six chapters of that prophecy were written by an inferior poet, the first forty chapters remain unimpeached. They challenge admiration by their sublimity and grandeur. They are marked by poetic glow, by stirring imagery and vivid personifications. The poet utters thoughts that breathe in words that burn. A live coal from the altar of Jehovah touched his lips, and his words ring across the gulf of centuries. If a second Isaiah uttered words less impressive, let criticism point out the fact; but the richness and majesty of the earlier Isaiah's strains are recognized by every devout and sensitive heart.

Criticism must not indeed degenerate into hypercriticism. If glaring errors have been committed in ascribing to earlier ages what manifestly was first taught in later times, the critic who demonstrates the fact is entitled to credit. Let what is clearly apocryphal be rejected. Legends should be remanded to the cate-

gory of myths or fables; but what successfully defies carping or disparagement should be resolutely preserved as unshakable and divine. The prophet that had but a dream may be dismissed to the rank of dreamers; but he that has spoken God's word faithfully is to be honored through the ages, and his words to be cherished as eternal verities. Paul's words aptly describe the aim which the higher criticism should keep in view. "To build up, not to tear down," should be the paramount desire. Scholarship is most honorable when it seeks to foster rational faith, not when it would unsettle trust.

But the higher criticism asks as to the genuineness of the New Testament also. It inquires specially as to the authenticity and accuracy of the Gospels. It affirms that we have no positive evidence as to the New Testament canon till near the close of the second century. John's Gospel is not specifically named till about the year 180 A. D. But such a fact is not fatal to its having been composed nearly a century before; for habits of composition were not so common among the ancients as among moderns. Several books indeed, known to have been composed by early Christian writers, have perished. Still, early in the second century Papias, a contempory of some of the disciples of the apostles, speaks of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, and affirms that the Gospel of the latter was founded on the oral narratives of Peter. One expression that Papias uses has been made the ground of a theory favored by certain critics. Says he, "Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew language, and everyone interpreted them as he was able."

Before mentioning the theory to which we referred, it can be remarked that the first three Gospels are of-

ten spoken of as the synoptics. As they relate many of the same incidents in the life of our Lord, and observe almost the same chronological order, a theory has been adopted that their authors followed a common original, though each of them relates additional facts. As Papias speaks of the oracles (*ta logia*) of Matthew, it is supposed that that apostle wrote about the year 40 A. D., a brief fragmentary account of some of the most notable incidents in our Lord's career. But for years in the early church great importance was attached to oral accounts The apostles and the seventy could give interesting narratives of the deeds and words of their great teacher, and formal histories were less needed. Still, as the proem to Luke's Gospel shows, many books or pamphlets were written by independent writers, and some of them contained legendary or apocryphal stories. To furnish for his friend Theophilus a veritable account of our Master's acts and teachings was therefore Luke's design in composing his history. And if Matthew really wrote at an early date a fragmentary account in Aramaic, he found reason afterward to write a fuller account for his brethren.

Now, some critics contend that Mark wrote his Gospel about the year 60. Luke composed his not many years after. The Book of Acts, which is also from his pen, leaves Paul a prisoner at Rome; but the apostle was executed in the lifetime of Nero, and that monarch closed his worthless life in the year 68. By consequence, the Gospel of Luke must have been written as early as 65, A. D.; and Matthew's Gospel, in its present form, three or four years later. Jerusalem had not been conquered when he composed his history, but was overthrown in the year 70. Perhaps the conjecture as to the date of Mark's Gospel should be quali-

fied. That Gospel is beginning to be prized by all critics for its originality and independence; yet if the theory that all of the synoptics were based on an early account by Matthew, explains to any mind the similarity in choice of incidents narrated, it may lawfully be held.

But advocates of the higher criticism have not all agreed to accept the Fourth Gospel as a work of John the apostle. Objection has been raised to it on the ground that it is not positively named as his work by any Christian writer till about 180 A. D. Baur, therefore, contended that it was not written till the latter part of the second century. But critics of the Tubingen school now admit that the book appeared as early as 130 A. D. To this admission they have been constrained by important literary discoveries. "The Diatessaron of Tatian (which begins with the prologue of John); the last book of the pseudo-Clementine homilies (referring to John ix:25); the knowledge of the prologue by Basilides, one of the earliest Gnostics; made known by the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus; the traces of Johannean phraseology in the Didache; have forced the critics to push the composition back from 170 or 150 (the date assigned by Baur), almost to the beginning of the second century, when many friends and pupils of John were still living."

Cannot great stress be laid indeed on the fact last named? John lived to be nearly a hundred years old. His death must have caused a great sensation in the church If he had written a gospel history, the fact would have been known, and his decease would call new attention to it. If he had not written such a work, would the attempt to palm off on the church, within the next thirty years, a fraudulent pamphlet as a trust-

worthy history from his pen have been successful? Would not scores, nay hundreds, who had revered him as the last of the apostles, have protested against the cheat, and asked, Where has this book been that we have never heard of it before? The circumstance that three trustworthy histories were already received by the church would have compelled a careful inquiry as to the authorship of a new work that relates many new stories, and places in different chronological settings familiar narratives.

It is a gratifying circumstance that the advocates and opposers of the Johannean authorship of the Fourth Gospel are approaching an agreement. Not a few of the latter class acknowledge the unity of that work as a composition. They confess not only that there are doctrines taught in that Gospel which no merely human teacher could have invented, but that they are related in connection with incidents that naturally suggested their utterance. They find it hard to believe that John related incidents which some listener recorded and dovetailed with traditional accounts of the Saviour's addresses. On the contrary they are constrained to accept the account as the story of an eye-witness of wonderful occurrences, who was so impressed by them that he treasured them for scores of years in a retentive memory and rehearsed them with matchless fidelity. At the same time they raise an inquiry which even the advocates of the Johannean authorship admit to have weight. How could an old man retain in memory such long addresses and conversations for so many years?

The reply is a concession that John perhaps condenses into a single speech different addresses which the Lord uttered. While the apostle's memory has a distinct retention of incidents that made on him and others an

ineffaceable impression, he does not recall so faithfully fifty years afterward merely accessory circumstances; and the conversations he rehearses might not have been so full of details. He recounts nothing untrue, nothing but that was actually uttered at some time, but the striking points only were those which lingered in definite outline in his memory. For this reason the advocates of the Johannean authorship are ready to say: We grant that it is unlikely that the addresses of our Lord are reproduced with verbal accuracy, but they are substantially correct. There is something so graphic, however, in John's delineations that we feel that he is not relating cunningly devised fables, but vital truths. There is something so unique in the character of the man whose career he describes, that we are compelled to say, "Truly this was the Son of God."

One objection made to the Johannean authorship is that the style of the Fourth Gospel differs from that of the Apocalypse. Now Justin Martyr speaks of that work as having been written by John, the Apostle. And its style betrays its authorship. Its sublime imagery, its vivid metaphors, its bold personifications, its energetic words, remind us of one whom our Lord aptly styled "a son of thunder." The Apocalypse, however, was probably composed in the year 68 or 69. The Gospel was not written till a score of years afterward, and in the interval, the stormy emotions that dictated the earlier work had subsided. And beside this it must be recollected that the earlier work was a poem, while the Gospel is a sober history. A difference of style is therefore to be expected. Taking this fact into account we have been obliged to say, as we have read the books side by side, the same hand penned them both.

But we are cramped for space. A word as to the

other books must suffice. Even the Tubingen school concede the genuineness of all but three or four of the epistles of Paul. And if the domain of skepticism has been so narrowed, may not the hope be cherished that even doubters will ere long grant the substantial authenticity of the entire New Testament? God, who in ancient times spoke to the fathers through the prophets, in later days spoke to teachable men and women by his Son, whom he appointed "heir of all things." The dealings of the Most High with his ancient people are made known in the old record. The matchless deeds and living words of his Son are rehearsed in the New Testament. Brave men and loving women, though menaced by martyrdom, treasured the words of the Lord and his apostles as living oracles. Drawn to the great teacher, as these men and women were, by his noble deeds and inspiring words, they were impelled to a godly life and a transporting hope. They handed his words down as a hallowing, uplifting power, and no captious speculations as to the genuineness of records should make men forgetful of the fact that the words of Jesus "are spirit and are life." In every age the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation in every believing soul.

Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 14.

XV.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH TOWARDS SCIENCE.

BY PRESIDENT I. M. ATWOOD, D. D.

THE attitude of the Universalist church towards science may be described in a single sentence. It is an attitude of interest, sympathy and expectation. Science has already been of great service to the Universalist church. It has made our career wider, our mission more significant, our contention plainer. Science has not been especially concerned with Universalism and has not directly given it aid or countenance. But indirectly and incidentally it has been our ally. So without special effort or conscious purpose the attitude of our church towards science is friendly and expectant. It has no fears, no suspicions, no basis for misunderstanding.

But this short answer, like most short answers, does scant justice to the subject. We shall be in a situation to get the whole value of the answer when we have taken a survey of the field marked out by our theme.

Science is a term of somewhat indefinite meaning.

It may denote the whole realm of modern inquiry into which the scientific method has so largely entered. So construed it will include along with the physical and mathematical sciences, civil, social, political, industrial, financial, moral and religious science. It will no more leave out exegesis than spectrum analysis, ethics than biology, biblical criticism than bacteriology, the evolution of faiths and dogmas than of species. It is possible for a church to hold an attitude towards science conceived of in this comprehensive meaning. And I should say, so far as I am authorized to speak, that the attitude of the Universalist church is still one of interest, sympathy, expectation. While, if the term be construed in its narrower and usual sense, as concerned with observation and experiment in the study of physical nature, the formula which expresses the attitude of the Universalist church towards it would not have to be changed.

But why are we called to consider such a question? What antecedent history or state of contemporary facts makes such an inquiry pertinent? Is not the attitude of every Christian church friendly to science? And is there any special difference in the attitude of different churches?

I lack the time, and, I am willing to admit, the disposition to enter on the history of the relations of the Church to scientific inquiry. Draper and Buckle and Lecky, and more recently, ex-President White, have explored this field with diligence, and though in the interest not always in the spirit of science. The whole truth has seldom been allowed to appear in their pages. Revision, like that which Justin Winsor's picture of Columbus and Las Casas has received from the hand of John Fiske, is required before we shall be able to draw

a just balance and say precisely how the account stands between the church and the spirit of inquiry. But I accept for the church in anticipation a general verdict of condemnation. It is convicted of many distinct acts of oppression and persecution, and of an attitude uniformly suspicious and illiberal towards intellectual freedom and scientific research. Such a history has left an entail; and whatever the present relations of the parties, it is impossible to lay aside entirely the weight of inheritance. The relations to-day are affected by what they were in former years.

But apart from the history there is that in the mental habits of the students of religion and of science which separates them. The student of science detects in the student of religion a different motive and outlook from those to which he is trained; and it begets in him a suspicion of the value of religion. He finds the representative of religion searching, not for the fact, but for reasons for this or that opinion. The mental habit which science cultivates is of search, investigation, with the purpose of arriving at the fact, whatever it may be. This is not always, perhaps not usually, the theological temper. The theological mind is dominated by a prepossession and is interested in facts chiefly as supports to preconceptions. Familiarity with such a temper in the advocates of religion induces in the man of science a certain aversion to religious men and their cause.

On the other hand, the student of religion becomes aware of an habitual outlook and an animus in the men of science which impress him unfavorably. They appear to be expecting facts that are anti-religious, and to be watching with some eagerness for them. They are inclined to construe knowledge and science in a narrow way, as confined to observed phenomena or mat-

ters of sense-perception. They treat things incapable of "scientific verification" as if they were unreal, and so cut down the area of thought and life to an insignificant point. This spirit, so foreign to that in which he has been trained, repels the student of religion and induces in him a certain suspicion of the time-proof quality of scientific "results," and a distrust of the validity of much that goes under the name of science.

It is natural, therefore, and it is the fact, that there should be want of sympathy and perfect good understanding between the departments of science and of religion. This strained relation shows sometimes in marked and historic instances, as when Principal Wace and Prof. Huxley step down into the arena and take up the challenge of controversy. It is worth remarking, however, that the tone of the debate has much improved in recent years. A wider and a deeper view is succeeding to the polemical and partisan aspect of the question; and in that clearer atmosphere each controversialist acquires a more favorable vision, both of his subject and his antagonist.

It is among the gains of our era, that certain phases of religion are naturally hospitable to science. This is due, I think, to the advent of systems of religion emancipated wholly or in part from mythological dogma. The great dogmas of the church for many centuries have rested on a basis of pure mythology. That is, on alleged powers, persons and transactions, having existence only in the brain of the inventor. It is undeniable that there has been a Christian mythology. It is equally undeniable that this mythology is passing away. The notion of a fall, a personal devil, a material hell; the dogma of substitution, by which the innocent Christ is sacrificed in the room of guilty man to sat-

isfy vindictive and artificial "justice;" salvation by contract; arbitrary and unending punishment, and the resurrection of the flesh, are doctrines which it is not too much to say have no basis in reality. The advent of systems of theology from which these doctrines have been eliminated, has opened a *via media* between science and religion. For the scientific method, whenever it got possession of theology, was destined to make these dogmas untenable.

It must not be supposed, however, that the reform of theology was effected by science. Such a claim is frequently set up, and the concession is granted on the part of theology without controversy. But it is a palpable error. Historically, the movement for rationalizing theology began among the theologians, and for a long period it was carried on almost exclusively within theological circles. Butler was a theologian, and so were Wolf and Paulus, and Eichorn and Schleiermacher, as well as Strauss and Bauer and Renan. To be sure, Voltaire and Rousseau and Lessing and Hume attempted the reform of religion, but from the side of philosophy and literature, not science. And while their assault left theology unchanged, that of the theologians wrought a great revolution in the thought and doctrines of the church. It should be marked with a red line that rationalism in theology antedated by a long period any noticeable effect of science on religion. Siegvolk, Priestley, Ballou, Channing, though they did not belong to the anti-supernatural strain of rationalists, were moved by a like rationalizing spirit; and their influence on theological thought is as much wider as it was earlier than the invasion of science.

By whatever means brought about, it is a fact of which we may here make grateful mention, that the

advent of systems of theology from which mythology had been eliminated, opened the way for sympathy and a good understanding between religion and science. Among these systems, Universalism occupies an early and prominent place. It is pre-eminently a reasonable religion. Its affinity with science is not in the circumstance that they seek common ends. Except on a very limited range they do not. Nor are they consciously working together. It is in the fact that both have risen to a common intellectual level; and as it always is with minds on the same plane, enjoying the same outlook, there arises the feeling of good-neighborhood and the frequent opportunity of exchanging greetings. Besides, it must often occur to the more thoughtful on either side, that the little any one absolutely knows, and the enshrouding mystery in which we all move, should rather beget a spirit of modesty and kindliness among fellow voyagers on an unknown sea, than incite to words of vain contempt and acts of childish passion.

Let us now attempt a definition of science and of Universalism, and thus place ourselves in a position more accurately to estimate their relations. It must be premised, that only that is science which is accepted as such by scientists of acknowledged authority. There are two parts to the science thus approved. (1). There is the body of verified facts and phenomena about which those competent to speak, no longer dispute. (2). There is the body of opinions or doctrines, more or less well supported by things known, but not yet verified. Now, the realm of nature, which is the field of scientific research, contains all the laws, facts, phenomena, of any actual or possible science. True science is, therefore, a transcript of nature. What is, that is

God's science. What we know of what is, that is our science. Our science, human science, as it exists at any time is the conception which scientific minds have of the order of nature, its laws and its phenomena. The science that exists at any time is true science only to that degree in which the conception corresponds to reality. The important changes and reconstructions going on continually in human science, authorize the conclusion that the best conception yet attained is imperfect and very incomplete. While many things are ascertained with satisfactory fulness, many more are either entirely unknown or only dimly or inexactly apprehended. Science, then, is the present state of our knowledge of the actual order and phenomena of nature. It can scarcely be said that science takes in any of the substantive truths of religion, except by way of inference, and that only to a religious mind.

Universalism is a religion. It is the faith that in the order of nature and the plan of God it has been provided that at length right and truth and good shall everywhere prevail. It is not what we know, but what we believe on the strength of what we know. As a Christian doctrine, Universalism looks to an issue in which all souls shall be one in Christ. Its conception is of the whole human creation delivered from the bondage of corruption and imperfection and established in righteousness and truth. The law of love, which it perceives to be the imperious law of the moral realm, requires goodness, salvation, perfection; and will be satisfied with nothing less. While some systems distinctly announce failure and waste and uncured evil as the order of nature and the plan of God; and other systems contemplate this mournful issue as inevitable after the best that divine wisdom and goodness can compass has

been done; Universalism affirms, as the only valid conclusion of the reason, as the loftiest intuition of the spirit, and as the necessary logic of the mission of Jesus and the church,

> —"That good shall fall
> At last—far off—at last, to all,
> And every winter change to spring."

What is the attitude of this faith towards this science? I renew my affirmation: It is an attitude of interest, sympathy, expectation. If any prefer, he may say it is an attitude of composure and strong confidence. It is, at all events, the attitude of one who has everything to hope and nothing to fear.

Well, what does Universalism expect from science? If there be any danger here, it is that we shall expect too much and expect that which science has not to give. On this subject some illusions are indulged. We often hear of the contributions science has made to religion; and in some instances attempts have been made to catalogue them. But it is doubtful whether science has made any direct contributions to religion. Its aid has been indirect and incidental. I am not able to think of a single constituent element of religion which it owes to science. The doctrine of God, of providence, of fatherhood; of immortality and heaven; of sin, forgiveness, salvation; of eternal life; of duty in its wide sweep and minute detail; of the church, the ministry, worship, prayer; of brotherhood, equity, charity, —none of these is the gift of our science. The utmost that science can do in the realm of religion is to furnish a method of "proving all things" in order that we may hold fast only the good. This service is indeed vast and beneficent; and it is precisely what, and to my inspection only what, science has contributed to religion. It

has cleared the air and blown away much dust and chaff from the formidable heap of theological accumulations, exposing the golden grain for our admiration and use; but it did not "contribute" any of the grain.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of this service which could be cited, is the revolution which has taken place under the lead of science in the religious as well as in the common mind, in regard to nature. The theological doctrine of a curse, resting not alone on the spiritual nature of man, but on his intellect and his physical frame as well, and including the beast with him in a common derangement and infirmity, in consequence of the sin of Adam, was for a long period so construed as to involve the whole scheme of the natural world. The weeds of the garden and pasture, violent storms and earthquakes, the ferocity of wild beasts, distempers, plagues, blights, droughts, shipwrecks, along with disease and sin, were attributed to the curse which fell upon man and nature in consequence of "the first transgression." There may never have been a very solid and universal belief in this fiction, even among the devout. But we owe the complete emancipation of our religion from this awful vagary to the disclosures of modern science. Nature is no longer a ruin; it is the unbroken and majestic realm of unity and order. Instead of a wrecked original, it is the original unwrecked. It is our standard and measure and type. Mystery and unfinished works abound in nature, but no derangement nor dislocation. Nature is proved by innumerable and unanimous witnesses to be sound and trustworthy.

Here it will be noted that the effect has been incidental. Science did not set out to correct theology. But her positive discoveries negatived a religious fable.

She turned her search-light on the realm peopled by fancy with monsters, and lo! a city of God, beautiful with his handiwork and vocal with the praises of his mighty hosts.

It may seem to some that I am scarcely doing justice to science in the share I award her in the improvement of religion. Some of my readers will recall the volumes by John Fiske on the Idea of God and on the Destiny of Man, and several recent volumes on the Religion of Evolution, among which those of Prof. Le Conte and Dr. Lyman Abbott and Principal CAIRD may not unlikely hold a prominent place. It is the study of works like these, in connection with the more subtle discussions of Thomas Hill Green, that has led me to the conclusion announced above. I should cite just these works in support of my view that science has not made any direct contribution to religion and is not to be expected to do so. Mr. Fiske is as ingenious as any man who has written on the subject. But while he appears to suppose himself to be deriving certain religious ideas from Evolution, what he really does is to read certain religious ideas into evolution. Given the ideas, and evolution may be found to be pervaded with them; and so may the brooks and birds and flowers; so may history and ordinary human experience. But starting without the ideas, evolution will not supply them. This is at the same time demonstrated and illustrated by Edward Clodd, a thorough-going evolutionist and a thorough-going atheist. We have here the explanation of a fact which has perplexed not a few. Some evolutionists are theists and even supernaturalists; while some are agnostics and others atheists. The reason is, that a man can get neither religion nor irreligion out of evolution; he gets it out of postulates and assumptions

which he may indeed mix with his evolution but which are really distinct from it. Read Dr. McCosh and you see plainly that his theism and his Christianity overlie and underlie and are shot through his evolution. Read Prof. Huxley, and you see that his agnostic attitude gives inclination and shape to his cast of evolution. Read Edward Clodd, and you see that it is a solemn and determined atheist who is making it as clear as a geometrical demonstration, that on the principles of evolution a God is unnecessary and impossible. If I were to write science where I have written evolution in these examples, the propositions would equally hold.

It is apparent now what answer I would make to an inquiry which has occupied many minds in recent years, How is religion to be harmonized with science? By not attempting to harmonize either with the other; but by leaving each to act freely on the other while both pursue their respective paths of development. It has been so many times said that it is becoming a stale truism, that there can be no conflict between true religion and true science, since each is a department in the one realm of fact and truth. But this happy solution slurs the real difficulty. The real difficulty is, that no one knows what true religion is or true science. Religion as accepted and expounded, and science as apprehended and taught, are both faulty and incomplete. The dissonances between systems thus imperfect are likely due to the fact that neither has yet struck the true note. In any attempt to bring the two into accord we are embarassed by the want of a standard pitch. If we take our key from religion, which variety shall we select? And whichever we select we shall not dare to assume that it is without flaw or quaver. If we start

from science, its name is yet legion and its voices jangled. Neither has yet found absolute and final expression. If, then, we brought them to a forced and momentary harmony it would be only to find them breaking into discord again with the very first movement of progress in either.

I make bold to declare that it is no part of our business to harmonize religion and science. Harmony is not produced, it ensues. When religion and science strike the same note we shall know; and everything that hath in it the divine concord of truth will vibrate a glad response. And this note will be struck, not by fumbling to find it, but by patient and candid and untrammeled inquiry along the respective lines of their providential pursuit. Suppose it were attempted to harmonize two schools in philosophy, as the Idealist with the Realist; or two hypotheses in science, as Darwin's with Mivart's theory of the origin of species, or Buchner's with Helmholtz's theory of force; or two religious sects, as the Episcopalians with the Congregationalists. It is transparent that no way exists in which the thing can be done. The parties may be brought to debate with each other. They may be persuaded to forego acrimony and accusation. They may even be drawn up to a plane of reciprocal respect and cordial intellectual exchange. That sort of harmony, which is simply courtesy in discussion and candor in inquiry, may properly be sought. But the harmony intended by those who seek in some way to reconcile one contention with another, is possible only as the issue of a fair and sincere trial of the merits of each. It may not be possible or desirable to have religion as we conceive of it reconciled with science as we know it. Better leave that matter to the spontaneous action of the hu-

man mind after it shall have felt the force of all the facts and all the reasons.

In saying this I am not insensible to the existence of tendencies in our religion and in our science, which are prejudicial to the best interests of both, and in some measure inimical to the highest welfare of mankind. In my view, religion should be free from bigotry and the exclusive spirit, open-eyed and courageous in the face of all disclosures; yet strong, fervent, positive, walking more by faith than by sight, and so conscious of the possession of a treasure without which life would be poor, that it never for an hour turns aside from its mission of saving the world or pauses on its glorious march to the conquest of the nations. Whatsoever, in any type of religion or religious administration, savors of blindness and darkness and tyranny, I deplore. Equally do I grieve over symptoms of a purpose to replace religion with intellectual inquiry and critical disquisition,—to substitute for the bread of God which came down from heaven to give life to the world, a stone, albeit a carved and curious and glittering stone.

On the other hand, a whole generation of interested observation of the field of scientific activity, while it has charmed and inspired me with the quick-accumulating record of its marvels, has left on my mind a painful impression. The tendency of scientific pursuit is to empty the mind of interest in religion, save as a target for criticism. I am perfectly aware of the emphasis of my statement. It is not heated by passion or fancy; it is cold and deliberate. I am speaking by the card. The eminent exceptions are fully estimated. The significant endeavors on the part of distinguished scientists to throw a bridge across the chasm of which they are conscious between their realm and ours, is accurately

noted. But the fact remains, that the tendency of scientific pursuits in our day is to take out of the mind any vital interest in religion. This tendency may be counteracted; it will at length be counteracted. In the case of many of the ablest and most brilliant it has been successfully resisted. But it exists, and it is strong. So strong that it bears utterly away the larger part of the ingenuous youth who commit themselves to the current. I make no attempt here to give the rationale of the situation; I simply record the fact. And I am sure all thoughtful persons, whatever their personal bias, must agree that it is not a pleasant fact. While to those who think as I do, that interest in religion and a degree of enthusiasm and service in it are essential, equally to the moral health of society and the soundness and sweetness of individual life, it is a disturbing, not to say a distressing fact.

Yet, after measuring the full import of the tendencies on each side, the Christian mind, it seems to me must remain serene. God is, and every man is God's spiritual child, and the final meaning of the cosmos, as well as of the human soul, is moral. This is what all searchers shall at last find out. And in that æon, near or remote, all paths of real knowledge shall be seen to lead the inquirer to Him in whom all live and move and have their being.

Presentation Day, Hall of Washington, Sept. 15.

XVI.

DENOMINATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITY.

The Position of Woman in the Church and Sunday School Work.

BY HON. HOSEA W. PARKER.

THE topics considered in this paper are: First, our denominational organization and polity; second, the position of woman in the Universalist church; third, our Sunday-school work and interests.

The law governing the Universalist church, or the denomination of Christians known as Universalists, is not in any sense complicated, but is simple, and can be easily understood. It is more an outgrowth of the necessities of the denomination as it has developed from time to time, than an arbitrary code of ecclesiastical procedure. In order to give a clear understanding of the present organization of the Universalist church and its polity, it will be necessary to review the history of the church. In this particular I give credit very largely to the Rev. Richard Eddy, D. D., the accredited historian of the Universalist denomination.

During the first seventy-five years of Universalism in America there was comparatively little legal authority or governing power in the various organizations, societies and conventions of the denomination. As early as 1785 societies professing faith in Universalism had been formed in various towns in Massachusetts, and it is said that the society in Oxford, Mass., may be truly styled the parent of the General Convention. This was in August 1785. The records of these early organizations are very imperfect, and there are few facts that remain, from which can be obtained an understanding of their legal significance.

These bodies were voluntary associations, and their primary and principal object was to inculcate the particular doctrines, as then understood, of Universalism. They then gave little or no attention to organization, or to legal procedure. In 1803, at a session of the General Convention held at Winchester, New Hampshire, the "Profession of Faith" was adopted, which has since been recognized as the corner stone in the denominational fabric.

Other conventions of a general character had been held before this time, but just at this period, a crisis had come, and some decisive action must be taken. Universalists before this time had been compelled to pay taxes to the orginal, or established, parishes, in many towns where they resided, and in order to prevent a continuance of this obnoxious practice, the Universalists of this early time felt called upon to take a decided stand, and to be pronounced in their opposition to this system of taxation. It was imperatively nec essary that they should emphasize their opposition, not only by promulgating their particular denominational faith, but by declaring themselves an indepen-

dent body of Christian believers, and in order to distinguish themselves from other bodies of Christians, they took the name of "Independent Christian Universalists."

This they regarded necessary in self defense. They must establish themselves as an independent sect, under some common form of government, and be known by some common name. For these reasons a charter or compact was drawn by JOHN MURRAY, at first for the use of the society in Gloucester, Mass., but which was presented to the association at Oxford the next year. This "charter" or "compact" was nothing more than a mutual agreement to hold stated religious meetings, choosing committees, providing for voluntary subscriptions, for the purpose of supporting teachers of piety, religion, and morality, and for assisting poor and distressed brethern. It also provided for the choice of such officers as the compact might require. All subscribers were to have an equal voice and vote, and anyone could withdraw at pleasure.

All questions were determined by two-thirds of the members present, and seven members constituted a meeting. It also provided that in case any member should suffer persecution from an unlawful exercise of power, the association should offer all legal assistance that it could, in extricating the member from difficulty and thereby enabling him to enjoy that freedom which is set forth in the constitution of the state, declaring that they would not acknowledge the right of any human authority to make laws for the regulation of the conscience in spiritual matters. With these fundamental principles as guide, "looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of their faith," the fathers of the Universalist church went forward proclaiming the undying love of God.

Conventions were held in several of the states with great regularity until 1833. During these years the question often came up as to the authority of the General Convention, as affecting the state conventions, and associations. As a rule societies and subordinate organizations claimed the right and did exercise all the powers of any convention, and did not acknowledge any superior authority. As early as 1821, an effort was made to give the General Convention greater authority, and in some degree to supervise the action of subordinate bodies, but so great was the opposition that nothing was done.

In 1827 it was proposed to change the plan of representation, and to provide that the General Convention should be made up of clergymen of all the associations in fellowship with the denomination, together with delegates from each of the state conventions. It was then proposed that all associations should adopt the "Articles of Faith" which were professed by the General Convention, and thus be governed by the rules of that body.

These propositions met with some favor and were referred to a committee whose duty it was to present a plan for the better government of all organizations in fellowship, including the General Convention. This plan excluded lay delegates and failed to be adopted. Some of the state conventions declared their independence and refused to be governed by the General Convention. Notwithstanding this declaration to be independent of the General Convention, there was a growing feeling that there should be some supreme law governing the various organizations in the different states. In 1833, a revised constitution was adopted and the title of the convention was changed to "The Gen-

eral Convention of Universalists in the United States." By this constitution the General Convention was composed of four clerical and six lay delegates from each state convention.

The leading thought in this new constitution was to fix a definite plan or principle of representation, but only claiming an advisory power over the subordinate bodies. By it the General Convention was a representative body. Societies sent their delegates to the state conventions, and these state conventions sent ten delegates to the General Convention. This was unjust and unsatisfactory, because it violated the first principle of a representative government, viz: equality. By this plan a state with a small number of societies had the same representation in the grand body that a state with a much larger number had.

In 1841 the General Convention was asked to adopt a constitution and plan, which would give it some authority over societies, associations and state conventions, and this subject was referred to a committee, and the committee reported in 1842. This committee was kept in power with instructions to present a plan of organization and discipline. Nothing was done until 1844, when Rev. T. J. Sawyer, D. D., reported a plan defining the powers of the General Convention, and of state conventions and associations. By this plan the "United States Convention" had jurisdiction over the several state conventions and could make such laws as the good of the denomination required.

For several years there was a great amount of discussion in the various conventions of the denomination, state and national, upon various legal questions relating to fellowship and discipline, and in 1853 a committee was appointed to revise and amend the consti-

tution and rules, and report at the next convention. They did report in 1854 and their report was adopted in 1855. The new constitution provided that the General Convention should adopt such rules and regulations as should be necessary to bring about a uniform system of fellowship and discipline throughout the denomination. It was made the court of final appeal, and should settle all disputes between state conventions.

Although this constitution gave the convention this power, no legislation was enacted to carry its powers into effect until 1858, when two acts were passed, viz: "An act to regulate the jurisdiction of the several state conventions and matters of discipline." Also, "an act to regulate a system of appeal." Up to this time all plans of church government had only been a partial success. In 1859, Rev. Dr. Brooks, as chairman of a committee said, "We have the name and some of the forms of organization but nothing of the thing itself," and again a committee was appointed to correspond with the different state bodies and to report a more perfect plan of organization, but on account of the "War of the Rebellion," but little was done until 1863, when the committee made a report. They reported that the constitution of 1855 with a few modifications, would give to the General Convention all the authority and power that it would require for a successful administration of the affairs of the denomination.

The modifications related chiefly to representation in the General Convention, to the election of a permanent secretary and treasurer of the convention, and also to the giving to the convention power to adopt by-laws for the better government of the same, and also to create a board of trustees.

During the year a majority of the state conventions ratified this action, and this constitution was declared to be "the fundamental law of the convention." When a majority of the states ratified this constitution presented to them by the General Convention, it has been truly said, that the relation between the several state conventions and the General Convention, was in many respects similar to that of the several state governments to the national government at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution of the United States. By-laws were adopted, and rules for a general system of denominational organization. All through these many years of church growth, there was gradually being developed that system of ecclesiastical law, or church government, which we find to-day controlling the Universalist denomination in the United States and Canada. In 1866 an act of incorporation was obtained under the laws of the state of New York, entitled "an act to incorporate the board of trustees of the General Convention of Universalists in the United States of America." By this act of incorporation the convention can hold real and personal estate to the value of $500,000, to be devoted exclusively to the diffusion of Christian knowledge, by means of missionaries, publications and other religious agencies. In 1872 this charter was amended so that the corporate name should be "The Universalist General Convention." This charter has since been amended in some unimportant particulars.

Thus it can be seen that the present organization of the General Convention, with its laws, rules and regulations, has been the growth of three quarters of a century or more.

The General Convention has a code of by-laws, de-

fining the duties of its officers, the order of business and various other matters connected with the General Convention which are too complex to be fully set forth in this paper. The parliamentary rules of the American congress are in use in the deliberations of the convention and in conducting its business, so far as they are applicable. The General Convention has also adopted laws of fellowship, government and discipline. All of these laws, rules and regulations taken together form a clear and concise system of government, which is representative and democratic in its character. Although the General Convention is only one distinct body, it has all the functions of a legislative, executive and judicial government.*

THE POSITION OF WOMAN IN THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.

The women of the Universalist church represent, in an eminent degree, the advance thought in liberal theology at the present time. In every branch of this church we find them foremost in its varied work. There are a large number of women to-day, who are leaders in conventions, associations, Sabbath-schools and in the pulpit as evangelists and pastors. Prior to 1869 they had not made their influence felt to the extent that they have since then. It is true, however, that a great amount of religious work was done by the women in the early days of Universalism in America, but it was not of that positive, active kind that characterizes their work at the present time.

Woman is the American teacher in the common schools to-day, and is exerting more influence for good in our country, than ever before in the history of the re-

*NOTE. The Manual of the General Convention, containing the constitution and laws, with forms of organization for churches and parishes, may be secured by application to the secretary, G. L. Demarest, D. D., Manchester, N. H.

public. As Christian thought has advanced, the relations of women to all of the progressive movements in human society are better understood and appreciated. We find them to-day in our colleges, as students and professors, and in all the callings and professions of life, but in no place is she doing better or more efficient work than in the Universalist church. The divinity schools of our church have opened wide their doors, and the young women are fast coming forward to prepare themselves as Christian teachers and preachers.

Women did little or nothing in an organized form till the centennial year of the denomination in 1870. At the General Convention in Buffalo in 1869, it was decided to commemorate the one hundred years of the existence of the denomination by raising a permanent fund of $200,000 for missionary work. The women were called upon to assist in this work and this was the first time a meeting of women had been called for denominational work. As a result the "Woman's Centenary Aid Association" was formed with Mrs. Caroline A. Soule as president.

Thirteen thousand women soon became members of this society, and many have since joined. During the first fourteen years of the existence of this organization, which has been incorporated, it had received about $200,000, and expended $193,000. It has published a large amount of denominational literature and circulated it extensively, and for many years has supported a missionary in Scotland. Mrs. Soule, whose work there reflects credit upon herself and upon the Universalist church, has occupied this field longer than anyone. The influence of this Association has been far-reaching and the different branches of the church have been greatly benefited by its work.

Not only is woman's influence felt in the separate and independent work which she is doing through the various organizations of her own sex, but her influence is increasing year by year in the General Convention, and particularly is this true in the several state conventions, Sabbath-school conventions and Christian unions. As a missionary she is doing her grandest work, and exerting her most powerful influence. In the several churches of the denomination, it is the women who are constantly keeping the fires burning, and who are recognized as the leaders in religious life and work. They are present at all of the meetings of the church and attend not only the religious services, but have a care for all the social duties, and many times are a very important factor in the financial department of the church. Thus it can be seen that the position of woman in the Universalist church, is that of a sentinel on the outpost, guarding and protecting its many interests. In all conventions, organizations and in every department of church work, women stand upon a perfect equality with men. They are delegates in state and general conventions, serve upon important committees, speak upon all matters of business, vote upon all questions that are presented and considered in the highest bodies known to the denomination. Not only is this equality shown in the active work of the church in all its departments, but in a legal sense none of her rights or powers are in any way abridged. In a true sense woman is the spirit and the life of the Universalist church.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL WORK AND INTERESTS.

The Sunday-school is justly regarded as an arm or branch of the church, and although the church cannot exercise any authority over it, by virtue of any ecclesi-

astical law, or organization, still it can have and does have a watchful care over it. The Sunday-schools connected with the Universalist denomination are generally independent bodies, and their management is usually in the hands of officers who do not necessarily have anything to do with church or denominational affairs. There is no uniform system of instruction, although the leading thought or purpose is to give religious instruction to the young, and such others as may participate in the exercises of the school. Nearly all churches or societies that call themselves distinctively Universalist, have connected therewith in some form, a Sabbath-school.

While we have very little data showing the history of Sabbath-schools in connection with the Universalist church, it is said that as early as 1816, a Sabbath-school was formed in Philadelphia, and in 1817, a school was instituted in Boston. In 1819 there was a school in Stoughton, Mass., one in Gloucester in 1820, and one in Providence, R. I., in 1821. From 1830 to 1840 a large number were established in New England, also in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. Before 1860 more than one hundred and fifty schools had been started, and in 1870 there were more than five hundred schools with an aggregate membership of more than forty thousand children. Since then the number has largely increased.

In many of the states the Sabbath-schools have their organizations and meet in convention for the transacting of such business as will extend their influence, and build up the cause of Universalism. The Sabbath-school is and has been an important factor in religious work, in connection with the Universalist church. It has its publications, and its libraries wherever the Universalist doctrines are preached or taught. That they

are powerful agencies for good in spreading abroad the distinctive doctrines of Universalism is admitted by all, both clergy and laity. In 1870 at the session of the General Convention of Universalists, a Sunday-school committee reported very fully upon the condition of Sunday-schools, and among other things recommended that "the General Convention should demand that a proportion of its members be so selected as to specially represent Sabbath-school interests." This committee claimed that one-half of the lay delegates should be selected with this view, and that a portion of the time of the General Convention at its sessions, should be given to Sabbath-school interests, but this recommendation has not been adopted. Methods of instruction are being constantly considered, and in many instances normal training for teachers have been instituted. The Sabbath school work, however, is not as efficient as its importance demands. It lacks in thorough organization, in systematic training in the distinctive doctrines of Universalism. It is the fountain from which the church must draw its supplies in the future, and therefore demands the earnest and hearty support of all.

Read in Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept, 14.

XVII.

LOVE, THE BASIS OF EDUCATION.

BY PROF. N. WHITE, PH. D.

THERE is a mutual interdependence between the conceptions of the intellect and the aspirations of the soul. Every aspiration seeks its cause and justification in clear conceptions concerning it; while every clear conception of the intellect becomes the ground of nobler feelings and higher aspirations. The primal cause of this fact must be found in the essential unity of the human mind.

This principle is nowhere more strikingly exemplified than in the sphere of religion. Every access of religious feeling and aspiration which reveals the presence of the sphere of the unknown and inscrutable stirs up the intellect to turn the search-light of reason upon the unshaped product of newly awakened feelings of reverence and awe, and to form new conceptions of that which before lay beyond its ken. If this is true of isolated phenomena of the religious impulse and sentiment under the ordinary conditions of life, it is not less true of the more complex phenomena which, under peculiar and extraordinary conditions of the

soul's life, precede and attend the inauguration and establishment of new forms of religious life The same principle is conspicuously present in the earlier and simpler statements of Christian doctrine. But while the emotional element in religion is more conspicuous than the intellectual in the inception of new forms and movements of the religious life, it cannot always remain so, although a long interval of time may intervene before equilibrium is restored.

"It is impossible," says Dr. Hatch, in his work on the Influence of Greek Ideas in the Christian church, "for any one, whether he be a student of history or no, to fail to notice a difference both of form and content between the Sermon on the Mount and the Nicene Creed."

Similar phenomena are observable in the division of larger communions into sects or parties, though, as might be expected at this stage of religious development, the starting points are no longer mere religious impulses or aspirations. The intellectual element in them is clearly apparent. They are rather assumed beliefs, theological conceptions now, often unclear, of the simpler kind, and with their relations to other religious and ethical conceptions dimly apprehended and imperfectly defined

But the essential theological conceptions upon which all sects are founded—the central facts in them—cannot always remain the exclusive possession of their advocates. These conceptions must come in contact with the theological conceptions of other sects and communions, and, under the light of constant investigation and discussion, can vindicate their right to be only by standing the test of reason. In other words, any conception of faith or of revelation which denies entrance

to the activity of reason, must sooner or later be abandoned.

Now, Universalism (I forbear to call it a sect), also has its fundamental and essential conceptions which involve the central fact in it, that without which it could not exist. The central all-inclusive fact of our faith is that God is love, and that his righteousness, his justice, his wisdom and his power, are modes of manifestation, or the revelation of love, that is, of Himself. The righteousness and the justice of God are specially manifest in the sphere of the spiritual, the power of God is specially manifest in the sphere of the natural or material world, while his wisdom seems equally manifest in both spheres of being, and in some sense serves as a connecting link between the two. Again, since, metaphysically speaking, all these modes of manifestation are equally manifestations of love, that is, of God, and since He is the cause and ground of all things, only through love can the universe be interpreted.

In the light of love we are therefore to seek for the meaning of human experience in every detail. In love knowledge and faith find their unity, and in the pursuit of the supreme object of life, all knowledge, all desires, emotions and aspirations are developed and satisfied. Now, the highest kind of knowledge is the object of philosophical research, for philosophy has been rightly called "a rational inquiry into ultimate principles." The aim of education, objectively considered, is the bringing of all human knowledge to the test of ultimate principles in which it finds its full meaning and interpretation, and here the desire for knowledge is fully and forever satisfied. Again, we may say that the element of love determines the positive virtues devel-

oped in human experience, and this finite love realizes itself and is satisfied only by infinite love. Thus we may say that human desires in the direction of knowledge and of moral and spiritual attainment find their unity in God, whose essence is love.

I am aware that the unity of life, or of human experience, which may be said now to be philosophy and religion, has been sought in truth, since truth may be said to be the object and goal of each. "The process of the one," says Dr. Mulford, "is in thought, of the other in worship; the one moves through reflection, the other through emotion; but each in its development, involves the other, as it has for its aim the truth." I cannot think that truth can satisfy the instinct of unity in both of these directions. A human soul is never satisfied with the attainment of truth—to perceive the truth is not enough; only being true can satisfy the felt needs of the soul. Truth is rather the instrument of the highest good than the object of highest aspirations. Many scientists of the present day concur in the definition of truth given by Mr. George H. Lewes, who says that "truth is the coincidence between the external and the internal order." It is also affirmed by way of explanation that "truth consists in the coincidence between that order of thought which is within us, and that other order of thought which is in the world outside of us." It would seem, however, as if "the world outside of us" must be held to include the sphere of the spiritual as well as that of the material realm. Now, will the mere apprehension of the fact that our thought coincides with the divine thought fully satisfy the felt needs of the human soul that impel it in the pursuit of knowledge? Rather is this posture of the mind in this pursuit of knowledge conditional

and preparatory. In this light God communicates himself and we awaken to a new life. In this light in which we apprehend perfect knowledge we, so to speak, enter the dwelling place of perfect love. "Perfect love," says Dr. Smythe, "can abide only in perfect truth." "Love rejoices in the truth," because it finds in it the perfect instrument of good. When truth, therefore, has executed the behests of love, the love of truth dies into the truth of an all-embracing love. Eternal life is the life of love, that is, of God.

In love, then, is found the true unity of life. In its light is revealed the full meaning of human experience, and under its guidance that experience may be so organized as to display its full efficiency and power in the training of human life to higher and diviner issues.

Let us consider briefly some of the new aspects which human life would assume when organized under the supreme principle of love.

In the first place life would lose much of its complexity and take on a nobler simplicity Many of the problems which now vex society would give promise of final solution. Under the guidance of love as the principle, human energies are no longer wasted through conflicting motives, and the way of useful activities brightens before us.

The questions which cluster around the conceptions of justice cease to afflict when taken into the light of love. Is the rule of right better upheld by retributive or by corrective punishment? In this light punishment is seen to be the minister of love, disengaging from the soul all the motives and passions leading to the commission of wrong. Can that power which penetrates the inmost depths of the heart and opens them to the

seeking light and regenerating influence of love, subduing it unto itself, and causing it to render the glad service of filial homage to the right which it once sought to destroy, prove less efficient in upholding the law of right than that other power which, while it restrains the body, leaves the soul to pursue its end with the finer instruments of evil intact? What, indeed, can vindicate the right and establish its law, but the overthrow of wrong—the eradication of the very roots of evil? But only the power of love can do this.

The recognition of love as the supreme principle and interpreter of human life, must awaken new energies in the service of man. Love knows nothing of the law's delay, no failure of purpose, no exhaustion of strength. This must be so since love gives us the clue to the divine purpose and every experience of life is seen to be a stage in the divine ordering of our life. We press on, for every act of service establishes new and closer relations between us and God. As life interpreted by love unfolds itself before us, it becomes charged with new and deeper meaning, since that meaning is expressed to us in terms of love, and the worth of true love when once felt is never questioned or denied. This earthly life when interpreted by love rises and expands more and more to the proportions of the heavenly.

Are we not then justified in saying that human life, when organized and directed by love as the supreme principle, will take on new aspects? Will not its forces be deployed in a broader field and under new and serener skies? It would doubtless lose some of the features and attributes it now has and replace them by others peculiar to itself. In proportion to the thoroughness of the organization of life under love, as its

supreme principle, individual experience would tend to reach the infinite developments of the collective or social life of men, for love is social and communicative, and hatred secretive and unsocial. We should no longer regard the wholesale destruction of human life as merely so much loss or damage to the social organism, but as so much diminution, so much wreck and waste of our own life. It would then seem to us possible to do the greatest good to the greatest number only by striving to do the greatest good to all.

Finally, it is only when human life in its utmost reach is seen to find its unity and final expression in an all-inclusive principle that it is seen to be purposive and revelative. Viewed in this light the whole history of human life in its collective, as well as in its individual capacity, is seen to possess deep significance and priceless value as being a part of the revelation of divine wisdom.

Human history thus becomes in the highest degree educative, but the value of its teachings is infinitely enhanced when, through all the unfolding of human life, its triumphs and defeats, its hopes and its despairs, a single point traces an unbroken line indicative of the moral continuity of life and destiny, and pointing to a final unity, which makes all history the interpreter of a universal hope.

Now, if the training of the human intellect to its highest activity and efficiency consists in forming those conceptions which lie between first and final causes, and the training of the moral nature consists in forming those conceptions which lie between the first recognition and interpretation of the feeling of obligation, and those highest conceptions of personal relation to truth which form the ground of the moral law; and if the training

and development of the religious instinct consists in forming those conceptions which lie between the first dim apprehension of a bond uniting the human mind to a mysterious Mind, and those supreme conceptions of omnipotence, omnipresence and personality as attributes of an Infinite Being, then to show that it is necessary to postulate a supreme principle of love as the only rational basis of these orders of conceptions, and that through this principle only can human life and experience find their true interpretation, must be the work of education under the auspices of the Universalist church.

This is, indeed, a great work. Doubtless its perfect accomplishment is not possible by human powers. Practically, however, the problem is not an insoluble one. Over the highest efforts of the intellect in this direction a sense of mystery remains which the light of reason cannot wholly dispel. Nevertheless it remains true that only to those who believe that love is the final expression of the world of matter and of spirit, only to those who believe that love interprets the universe, does this greatest of problems turn its luminous side. And, indeed, the problem becomes more intelligible as love wins her bloodless victories over ignorance and sin.

Already there are foregleams of that auspicious time when this problem will no longer present a sphinx-like aspect. When an international code shall in the near future give good promise of perpetual peace among the nations; when contagious disease shall no longer as a ghastly visitant knock at the mansions of the rich or the hovels of the poor; when the efforts of beneficent enterprise, now making in the sphere of the economic, the social, the moral, and the religious life of men, shall

have multiplied, making increasingly evident the victorious energy of love, then will the trembling hope of the solution of this world-problem die into a firm faith in its future concluded attainment.

But the willing workers toward this consummation must be looked for among those who have this hope in them—among the Universalists of the Universalist church, or perchance among Universalists of other churches; but this work constitutes the mission of the Universalist church and the educational institutions under its fostering care are its indispensable ally. Nor has this truth been unrecognized by Universalists in any epoch of their history. Now it has been clearly perceived and now scarcely discerned.

Clemens Alexandrinus grasped this great fact, but never wrought it out into clear consciousness. He clearly recognized, indeed, that theory of punishment which is consistent with a rational belief in universal redemption, but its philosophical basis has received less careful treatment. Origen, however, saw the full import of the message of infinite love, and while confessing that he could not fully grasp every element in the problem, yet he recognized the fact that it would become increasingly intelligible as richer materials of experience were laid under contribution for its solution, and it rejoices us to know that he saw the victory of the ages and saluted it from afar.

In the writings of the first preachers of our faith in this country, few indications are found that they occupied themselves with the wider problem. It could not have been otherwise. An acquisition must first be made secure before its full worth can be ascertained. But in their efforts to clarify and more accurately define their conception of God as a Being of infinite love,

they could not fail to trench upon other closely related though subordinate conceptions. As no country can be bounded without knowledge of adjacent lands, so no province of thought can be accurately delimited unless the field of view extend beyond it.

It was, therefore, inevitable that the advocates of the Abrahamic faith, while from the first believing and teaching that God is love, that he is the Father of all men, and that all men are brothers, should not be satisfied with the conclusion immediately deduced from these premises, namely, that all men have a common destiny. They were gradually drawn into wider fields of thought, to a fuller investigation of what is implied by such conclusion, drawn from premises so inclusive. It was inevitable, too, that they should not rest until they had reached the satisfying conviction that only through love as a supreme principle can life in all its aspects, and nature in all its forms, find their true interpretation. Still further; it was inevitable that, at some stage of this religious development, motives leading them to define doctrines and ecclesiastical positions should, for a time at least, cease to become dominant, and that they should seek by new applications of love as a supreme principle to throw a new and stronger light on the social and political as well as the individual life of men. In this light it will be seen that every sphere of human life and activity is but a means of love; and that material wealth, intellectual powers, moral attainments, and spiritual aspirations, become "treasures in heaven" only when vitalized by love and used in its service. Love is, then, the Basis of Education because it is the basis of life.

Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 14.

XVIII.

FOREIGN MISSIONARY WORK.

The Japanese Mission.

BY GEORGE LANDOR PERIN, D. D.

TO question the principle of Christian missions is to question Christianity itself. St. Paul's motive in pushing his pioneer Christian enterprise into Asia Minor, Greece and Rome, was the absorbing conviction that the gospel of Christ was superlatively good. Under the impulse of this conviction he could endure Jewish ostracism, poverty, stripes, stonings and shipwreck as mere incidents in a work which on no account could be abandoned, because he believed that all the world needed the truth of Christ. This conviction, more or less strong, has been the impelling motive to Christian missionary effort ever since the days of St. Paul. Men have faced storm and fire and death under the conviction that they were performing heroic service in extending the Christian church To doubt that in this conviction they were right is to doubt the superlative value of Christianity. For how can a man, believing in the transcendent value of the Christian re-

ligion, free himself from the responsibility of extending its influence and power; let whoever must deny its transcendent value. But believing in it, the principle of Christian missions is perfectly logical; not only so but indifference to this cause would seem to imply more or less indifference to the religion of Christ itself If the Christian religion is good, it is good for all the world. If it is good for all the world, then it is clearly the duty of each individual Christian to take deep interest in extending its influence.

But if the principle of Christian missions cannot be seriously questioned, it is also true that the time has passed for debating the practical value of Christian missions as civilizing agents. It is simply a matter of history that in many lands they have paved the way for commerce, have put in intelligible order the native languages, have corrected vices, taught healthful methods of living, and brought out of the chaos of barbarism or semi-barbarism, the order of Christian civilization. Whoever, therefore, in modern times charges Christian missions with failure, convicts himself either of gross ignorance or wicked misrepresentation. That such charges are occasionally made is due first to the ignorance of travelers who have visited about everything in foreign lands except the missions themselves. Second, to the wilful misrepresentations of a part of the merchant class of foreign residents, who have no other interest in the country or the people than to use them for their own pleasure or profit, and to whose morals and methods of business, the missionaries and their teachings are a constant rebuke.

Perhaps there are few intelligent Universalists who would deny the practical value of missions, and none who would question the principle. But since the Uni-

versalist church was one of the latest of the Protestant denominations to enter the foreign missionary field, it is but natural to raise the question as to why its mission enterprises were not begun earlier? The simple but adequate answer is, that the Universalist church itself was from the outset and for many years a Christian mission. It was not a powerful organization teaching in their entirety the well-known doctrines of the churches. But it was in the outset a handful of devoted men of the Lutheran spirit, who believed they saw fundamental defects in the interpretation of both the letter and the spirit of the Christian religion, and set themselves the heavy and heroic task of correcting false interpretations which they believed to be at once dishonoring to God and a real impediment to the progress of Christianity. In the days when Judson and Carey were pushing their missionary enterprises into the East, the Universalist church was still but a handful whose efforts were confined chiefly to New England. It would have been as reasonable for Wm. Lloyd Garrison to have carried on simultaneously with his campaign against American slavery another campaign against Arabian slavery, as for the Universalist church to have early engaged in foreign missionary enterprises. It was itself, in its plea for a God of perfect love, a Saviour who should be victorious, a destiny for man worthy of the children of God, and for a rational interpretation of the Scriptures, a missionary body with a commission as high and work as noble as that of any who ever sailed to a heathen land. The mission of Martin Luther was not less evangelical and not less heroic than that of Francis Xavier, though the latter lay among the heathen of the far East, while Luther never worked beyond the limits of his native land. So

the Universalists of America, with true evangelical spirit and true missionary zeal have waged a missionary warfare in behalf of a pure gospel worthy of the Master whom they have professed to follow. That this warfare should have absorbed most of their resources and engaged most of their energies for many years was but natural; nay it was inevitable.

But while, therefore, it is true that the influence of the Universalist church has been felt chiefly as a reforming power in theology, it is also true that it has come at last to be something more than a theological protest. It has built schools and colleges, it has participated in the moral reforms of the time, it has developed an institutional life which is seeking by all the ordinary means known to the Christian church to quicken the conscience and save men from sin. The Universalist church has had a specific task as well defined and as faithfully performed as that of Luther or Wesley. And it is only now, when its central idea has found wide acceptance in the Episcopal church, and as a hope at least among Congregationalist and other churches, that it is at liberty to turn away from the more specific work of the reformer, to the more general work of Christian culture. The events of the last few years have proved that it not only has the desire to do this, but also the Christian enthusiasm to successfully enter upon large Christian enterprises. And perhaps chief among these later enterprises stands the Japan Mission.

If, in the providence of God, it had been the fortune of the Universalist church to end its work as a mere reformer in theology, its mission would still have been a noble one. Yet if its work had ended there it would seem to have been a misfortune. For there are none

who can so efficiently make ideas workable in human life as those to whom they have come as a discovery or a revelation and who feel responsibility for their progress in the world. Universalist ideas should be most powerful in the hands of Universalists to the manor born. We ought, therefore, to regard the later development of our institutional life as very fortunate. For if we love these ideas we shall seek to give them clearer and clearer expression, wider and wider extension, and above all, we shall seek to make them a practical spiritual power in the largest possible number of human souls.

The organizing and sending out by the Universalist church in the year 1890, of the mission to Japan, (its first foreign mission to a non-Christian country), was the most logical thing it ever did. Who should be sent as missionaries to tell men of God if not those who from the first made the Universal Fatherhood of God central in their prayers and in their teachings? Who should be sent as brethren to help their less fortunate brethren to a better understanding of God and life and duty and destiny, if not those who have from the first believed in and taught as fundamental the Universal brotherhood of man? Who should be sent to tell other nations of a Saviour's love if not those who believe in a Universal Saviour? Who should be sent to lighten the hearts of, and inspire faith in, those who sit in darkness if not those who believe in a Universal gospel of good news? A Universalist without the missionary spirit is a contradiction in terms. Such an one suggests the idea of partial Universalism. To the true Universalist there is no Jew and no Gentile, no bond and no free, no favored race and no favorite spot in which to work. To the man full of the Universalist idea this is simply God's

world, every side of it, and the people in it are God's people, and the best place in which to work is where the work is most needed. Accordingly, when the proposition came definitely before the Universalist church to undertake a mission to Japan, it elicited genuine enthusiasm, and within a few weeks from the election of the missionaries, the people had generously equipped the mission for five years. The little missionary band reached Japan in April, 1890, and from that time to the present, the mission has received the generous support of the home church in every possible way. The Universalist church, therefore, not only stands committed to the principle of Foreign Missions, but it has earnestly entered upon the actual work.

As a member of the mission force let me enter upon a brief statement of our motive, aim, method, and the results of our work thus far:

Motive.—How far other missionaries have been impelled by the conviction that their fellow men of heathen lands were in danger of eternal torment it is difficult to determine. No doubt this has been a powerful motive with some; and one eminent authority has gone so far as to say that this is an indispensable motive to missionary effort. But it is perfectly safe to say that this conviction has not in the least influenced the Universalist church in its missionary enterprises. Perhaps it is unfortunate, but as a matter of fact it is not a motive with us, for we wholly reject the doctrine of eternal punishment. If a belief in that doctrine is essential to the success of missions then our work is certain to fail. If I have been able rightly to interpret our motive it has been the simple conviction that the religion of Jesus Christ is good for all men, the men of Asia as well as of Europe and America, and that

because it is good, because it is the very best thing that any man can have, we are under the most solemn obligations to do our utmost to extend that religion. We ourselves have been blessed by the Gospel of Christ; it has filled our lives full of light and "woe is me if I preach not the Gospel" to others. Our motive is no other than that which impels every man to impart good news. Men need the great thought of God, they need to know that this world belongs to God, above all they need to know the infinite love of God. They need to know this more than they need to know anything else. There can be no higher motive than the desire to impart these great thoughts because men need them. The conviction, then, that the people of Japan needed the idea of one personal living God, to whom they are responsible, that they needed the Christian ideal in morals and the inspiration of a personal Saviour, and that we could at least do a little to implant and nourish these ideas, has been and is our inspiring motive.

Aim.—In the mission field our aim has been to make positive and attractive statements of our thought with the view to converting men to the Christian life. On the assumption that it is better that theological battles be fought in Christian lands, we have so far as possible avoided all polemics. If we have made theological comparisons it has been not in the spirit of controversy, but with the purpose of clearing away as far as possible intellectual difficulties from the minds of those who are troubled by hard doctrines. The central truths of Universalism, the Universal Fatherhood of God, the Universal brotherhood of man, the Universal character of Christ's atonement, the certain victory of right over wrong—these great truths we have preached very

positively and very earnestly, and it is not too much to say that we have found them congenial to the Japanese mind. There is no place on earth where ultra orthodoxy has less influence than in Japan. Until within a few years past there have been none but orthodox missions in this country; and yet it is entirely within the facts to say that the native leaders of Christian thought are more liberal than the liberal Congregationalists of America. It is simply impossible that extreme orthodox doctrines shall ever control the Christian thought of this country. If this shall ever become a Christian nation, as I confidently believe it will, it will only be through the preaching of a simple Christianity, freed from theological difficulties, in which the love of God for all men stands out clearly as the central message. To preach such a gospel has been and is our aim. If we have laid so much as a straw in the way of any other Christian mission is has been done unwittingly. It has not been our purpose to hinder but to help. That our thought has been found attractive to some who were already Christians was to have been expected, but it has never been our aim to influence men who were already converted. We are far more interested to give our gospel to the forty millions of the unconverted. In our simpler, more hopeful interpretation of Christianity, we believe we have immense advantages in our work. But it is our sole aim to bring men to Christ, and teach them their true relations to God and man. If we may do this, even in some small way, we shall be glad in the fulfillment of our purpose.

Method.—The key to our method is to be found first, in the fact we have at no time had in the field more than four foreign missionaries. It seems to us undesirable and impracticable for foreigners to become

evangelists in this country. It seems to us far better to spend our energies in educating native preachers. The difficulties of the language are immense. The difficulties of learning and adapting oneself to native customs are hardly less. To master thoroughly these difficulties is the work of half a lifetime; and when they are mastered the foreigner will still be a foreigner, and for that very reason incapacitated for becoming a pastor. Before Christianity can have power in this country it must be adapted to, and illustrated by, Japanese forms of thought. This can only be accomplished by Japanese preachers who know their people, their country and their history. We have, therefore, made every other phase of our work bend to the work of training preachers in the conviction that there is no method of multiplying our influence so sure as this.

The second key to our method is to be found in the fact that it has been from the first our purpose to encourage the development of the Japanese church. We are strong in the conviction that this historic method of mission work is the very best method. No machinery has yet been discovered so efficient for the extension of Christian ideas and the nourishing of the Christian life, as churches. The development of an institutional life for the training of individual Christians is absolutely indispensable. It is through the church that Christian ideas and Christian morals are to be made permanent. We do not believe they can be made permanent and operative in any other way. It has been our purpose, therefore, to assist in the formation of a Japanese Christian church, in which believers may be gathered and trained in the Christian life. As already hinted, the part of the foreign missionary in this work, while extremely important, must be in its nature tem-

porary. He is to be for a time a teacher of the teachers, a pastor of the pastors, and an indispensable adviser in the early development of the church. Our method, therefore, centres in the development of churches, which are immediately placed in the hands of native pastors, who are, as far as possible, made responsible for the success of the movement. We have not a single missionary on an out-station; but the whole force are engaged in teaching, while the outposts are visited two or three times a year. We do not profess to have fully tested the efficiency of our method, but we believe that in proportion to the amount of money expended, the results will be greater than by the old method of stationing a foreign missionary with each church. Foreign salaries are necessarily so much larger than those of native preachers that it seems to us that mission funds will produce larger results when expended for the development of churches under native care alone. If our theory be correct then the foreign missionary force should consist mainly of men and women enough to equip the schools, and enough besides with a sufficient knowledge of the language to be useful as occasional outpost visitors.

Results.—To count results in Christian work is always idle and vain. Besides this, to undertake to sum up results after the brief period of three years seems absurd. We reached the country only three years ago and shall have been actually at work less than three years when this paper is read. This is but time enough to look around and begin to get acquainted with the situation. The results seem to the missionaries themselves meager enough, and surely, at best there is nothing of which to boast. But for the encouragement of our friends and as a prophetic answer

to those who have predicted the failure of the Universalist mission, perhaps I may be pardoned for a brief statement of the outward results of our work thus far: (1.) We have a theological school in which ten students have been in training during the last year. (2.) We have a girl's school at Shizuoka, wholly under the care of native teachers, numbering more than fifty pupils. (3.) We have another group of ten girls in Tokyo under the special religious training of a foreign lady teacher. (4.) We have one organized church, with church-building and pastor, and one preaching station with native evangelist in the capital city, two preaching stations and two evangelists in Osaka, the second city of the empire, one preaching station, organized church and ordained pastor at Sendia, one preaching station and one evangelist at Shizuoka, one preaching station and one evangelist at Okitsu, one organized church with church-building and regular supply at Hoden. (5.) We have had for the past two years a regular monthly magazine printed in the vernacular, contributed to largely by native writers. (6.) We have translated and published books and pamphlets aggregating more than one million pages.

All this is external, and without corresponding internal results must be counted as vain and not at all worth the repeating, and I mention them at all only in the hope that they may be taken as a sign of some things that can not be seen except by Him who sees all things. At all events they may be taken as suggestive that the Universalist church has at least set itself with resolution and enthusiasm to its mission task. And these outward results are certainly beyond the most sanguine expectations of the American Universalist church, and we trust may be in some measure prophetic of nobler achievements in the future.

It only remains for me to say that we have entered upon this work with faith. We believe absolutely in the Universal Fatherhood of God and the Universal Brotherhood of man, and if we shall be able to give to even a few of our brothers of the "Sunrise Kingdom" the good news of a Universal Saviour, we shall have performed by so much the Master's service.

Read in Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 14.

XIX.

THE WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION.

BY MRS. CORDELIA A. QUINBY.

IN 1870 American Universalism celebrated its one-hundredth birthday. Year had linked itself to year into a complete centennial circlet since the day that noble missionary of a liberated gospel, JOHN MURRAY, first stepped upon these shores, and began his work of spiritual emancipation. Against his own will, and compelled by the clear voice of God, in a series of almost miracle-working providences, the founder of a strange sect in a strange land, spoke the first uplifting words of his inspired message. It all reads now like a legend or romance—that old wonder-tale of our prophet shrinking, Moses-like, from his glorious predestined mission. But though, like the old Hebrew leader, reluctant to assume command, he became in an almost analogous sense, the pioneer and the chieftain of a "peculiar people" in their journeyings through a wilderness; not, surely, amidst natural rocks and deserts, but in a domain of the spirit, where frowning dogmas, arid, blasting superstitions, were only faintly typified and foreshadowed by the mountain fastnesses and sandy wastes of Arabia.

And now the American church had come out from the wilderness. In the good year of grace, 1870, the promised land lay full in sight—the land which God had promised should be conquered in the name of Universal holiness and happiness. To be sure, its Moses had died during the journey, but many a Joshua had risen up to succeed him, and the ranks of the Lord's host stood solid. It was an hour of exultant hope and expectation. They paused for a moment to celebrate, with fitnesss and impressiveness, the progress which they had already measured, and to raise a memorial upon that spot, and at that date, to their great leader.

It was September, 1869. The General Convention had convened in the city of Buffalo, N. Y., and were deliberating upon measures for raising a magnificent sum of money, to be held permanently at the control of the convention, and to be known as the "Murray Fund." And now dawned the day of the Miriams and the Deborahs. The women of the church had always labored faithfully, but heretofore in retirement, and, for the most part, in silence. But at this meeting the enthusiasm of the occasion nerved them to step boldly forward, and take a public and prominent place upon the program. They elected to help in securing gifts for the stupendous thank-offering in contemplation, and organized themselves for that purpose, under the significant name of "The Woman's Centenary Aid Association." A constitution was then and there drafted and accepted. Officers were elected, and a general plan for the campaign arranged. The officers of the original body were as follows: President, Mrs. Caroline A. Soule; recording secretary, Mrs. D. C Tomlinson; corresponding secretary, Mrs. F. J M. Whitcomb, treasurer, Mrs. M. A. Adams; with a long list of vice-presidents, one for each state in the Union.

The zeal thus enkindled spread with a rapidity and certainty that swept within the circle of a twelve month the entire territory of the church, setting every woman's heart in a blaze of holy love and emulation. With tireless vigor, those brave founders of the order—women of brilliant gifts, solid acquirements, and sound sense—toiled on, and achieved a success heretofore unprecedented in the annals of our church. Womanhood—Universalist womanhood—had asserted itself, and with a beautiful aggressiveness that was justified of all, when on the evening of Wednesday, Sept. 21, 1870, the Universalist women of America held their first national convention in the Universalist church at Gloucester, Mass., and the overflow of that meeting filled not only the vestry, but two other churches. So much for the enthusiasm inspired by the movement. Its substantial results were not less gratifying. The total amount of money raised by the Aid Association was thirty-five thousand, nine hundred and seventy-four dollars, and twenty-six cents. After deducting the expenses of the work and a donation of two hundred dollars to the ladies of the Buffalo church, whose building had been burned after the convention of 1869, the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars and fifty-three cents was given to the treasurer of the General Convention for the Murray Fund. About thirteen thousand women had become members; and their gifts ranged from one dollar to one hundred, two hundred, three hundred, and in one instance, one thousand dollars.

The purpose of the Woman's Centenary Aid Association had been fulfilled. They were now at liberty to disband. But the impulse that had been imparted towards the co-operative and organized effort of the women for the church of their common love, was not by

any means spent. It was to prove an abiding and cumulative force in the future missionary enterprise of the church. They had tasted the sweets of associative devotion, self-sacrifice and toil, in the largest and divinest cause that can enlist human sympathies, and incite human action; and a great resolve was born of the experience: they would not surrender the opportunity and the place they had made for themselves. The womanhood of the church should maintain itself at the height already reached, and from there go higher still. They would make themselves felt as a distinct, and an indispensable power for the evangelization of the world. So, in the city of Philadelphia, on Wednesday, Sept. 20, 1871, the members of the Aid Association met and disbanded, to immediately reorganize as a permanent missionary body, under the name, so endeared to all their hearts, "The Woman's Centenary Association." At that meeting a constitution was adopted, prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose, consisting of Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, of Pennsylvania, Mrs. M. A. Adams, of Massachusetts, and Mrs. H. A. Bingham, of Massachusetts. Substantially the same officers who had served during centennial year were re-elected at this meeting, a few changes having been rendered necessary through resignations, on account of failing health, or the pressure of home duties.

At the next yearly meeting, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1872, the suggestion of a Scottish mission, eloquently advocated by Rev. J. S. Cantwell, D. D., was heartily welcomed; but no definite action was decided upon However, two years later the growing interest in Scotland reached a culmination. A few friends in that country applied to our General Convention for aid, and the appeal was transferred by a com-

mittee to "The Woman's Centenary Association." The society responded by voting the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars per annum, to be expended in maintaining a mission. Later, a knowledge of the misapplication of these funds having reached the General Convention, it was voted that the sum be diverted from its original channel, and sent directly to the Scottish Universalist Convention, which had been organized in 1875, to be used at the discretion of the trustees. At the General Convention held in New York the following year, the subject of the Woman's Centenary Association was brought up and fully discussed, and finally it was unanimously voted that the Woman's Centenary Association should be auxiliary to the General Convention in the work of the church. Meantime the Scottish brethren were asking that an American missionary be sent to them, naming as their unanimous choice, the gifted and energetic president of the Woman's Centenary Association, Mrs Caroline A. Soule. It was an object to arouse enthusiasm, and our women rose to the occasion. The cry, "Come over and help us," met with a swift and ungrudging response. The money was speedily pledged. The beloved leader was ready; and our missionary began her work in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1878. She was sent for the term of two years; but she remained there until September, 1882, in compliance with the urgent desire of the Scottish people. She was succeeded by the Rev. Marion Crosley, whose term of service expired August, 1884, when he returned to this country. The Rev. J. W. Hanson, D. D., had been elected to succeed Mr. Crosley, but the fatal illness of Mrs. Hanson, one of our most talented and indefatigable workers, a woman whose life was all "sweetness and light," and whose

memory is an inspiration, detained Dr. Hanson in this country for more than a year later. During this interregnum the Glasgow parish secured the services of the Rev. Mr. Smith, an ex-chaplain of the Established Church, who had been deposed for heresy. Early in the fall of 1885, Mrs. Hanson "entered into rest," and a few months later Dr. Hanson sailed for Scotland, beginning his labors in Glasgow, February 28, 1886. In 1887 Dr. Hanson returned to the United States, and Mrs. Soule, being still there, was invited to resume the charge of her former flock. With unflagging interest and unremitting sacrifice, this consecrated sister continued her pastorate until failing health compelled her final resignation in 1892. Meanwhile a small and tasteful iron church had been erected by the society in one of the most desirable quarters of the city of Glasgow, and Mrs. Soule's successor, the Rev. C. A. Garst, of Illinois, a man of a pronounced evangelistic type, entered the Scottish field in 1892, under the most inspiriting auspices. Meanwhile we had planted our Texas mission, which we consider one of our most important points of home work. For ten years we have assisted our faithful missionaries there with an annual contribution of one hundred dollars, gradually increasing to two hundred and fifty dollars. This sum Brother and Sister Billings are not only truly grateful for, but inform us that without it, their work would have been greatly crippled in effect.

At the meeting of the Association in Washington, D. C., 1873, Mrs. M. Louise Thomas presented the first report of the Publication Committee, stating that the Tract Department was in working order, and had already begun operations. The first series of these efficient little "black missionaries" numbered twelve.

To these several additions have been contributed, making the total number at present sixty-eight. During the twenty-two years of this Association's life, swarming myriads of these little living leaflets have been sent out by this department, amounting to over 5,000,000 pages, together with many thousands of denominational papers and precious books and pamphlets, scattered broadcast over all the continents and the islands of the sea, carrying everywhere the gospel of "The Eternal Hope."

At the same session, 1873, the Association became an incorporated body, receiving its charter, dated September 18, 1873, from the District of Columbia, under a special act of Congress. Nine years later, in May, 1882, the incorporators met in the City of Washington, and adopted measures to secure a new charter, under a new set of by-laws. This charter is dated May 11, 1882, to continue twenty years.

Up to the present time, 1893, the Association has had but three presidents, Mrs. Caroline A. Soule, who held the office up to 1880; Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, her successor, who served till 1891; and Mrs. Cordelia A. Quinby, the present incumbent. It has had, in all that time, but two treasurers, Mrs. M. A. Adams, who resigned in 1883, and Mrs. M. M. Dean, who succeeded her. The present Executive Board are: Mrs. C. A. Quinby, president; Mrs M. Louise Thomas, past president; Mrs. C. A. Soule, president emeritus; Mrs M. A. Adams, first vice president; Mrs. E. D. Browne, recording secretary; Mrs. E. L. Sherwood, corresponding secretary; Mrs. M. M. Dean, treasurer.

The financial retrospect of the Association is creditable. During a career of twenty-two years it has collected a sum amounting to nearly $250,000. Its Perma-

nent Fund, whose interest is drawn for current expenses, amounts to $12,503. This sum is securely invested, and is being continually increased by donations and bequests. A subscription of $1.00 constitutes a yearly membership; one of $25 a life membership; while a contribution of $100 makes one a patron. The disbursements of the Association have been uniformly wise, and as catholic in their distribution as the limited means would permit. Two professorships in Buchtel College, Ohio, have been established for $40,000, and donations have been made to St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York; Mitchell Seminary, Iowa; Jefferson Liberal Institute, Wisconsin, Goddard Seminary, Vermont, and Westbrook Seminary, Maine. The missionary work of our church, also, both at home and abroad, has been liberally patronized. We have responded, with all the readiness our means could warrant, to calls for help from many parts of the United States, notably Texas, Florida, Kansas, Nebraska and California; and we have sent our sympathies with substantial aid across the border into Canada, across the sea to Scotland, and across seas and continents to far away Japan, over which the light of a glad new sun is rising in this sunset hour of the century.

We were asked to present "the character, claims, work and history of the Woman's Centenary Association" of the Universalist church. Thus briefly have we given an outline of its history, and this outline necessarily, though inadequately, involves the character and the work of the order. Its claims are as positive as its purpose, as just as its spirit, and as persistent as its needs. It states with positiveness its purpose, which is to bring within its jurisdiction and engage in its active service, the entire woman constituency of the Univer-

salist church. It discloses the justice, the integrity, the righteousness of its spirit by reaching out hands to help lift the veils wherever darkness has settled down upon the minds of the people. The spirit of the organization gives itself out constantly and unreservedly like the air and sunshine, to quicken the consciences and to nerve the hearts of those who stand already in the light that they may advance "without haste and without rest," proclaiming to the multitudes, whose eyes are yet holden, the coming of that universal morning which is even now breaking over their heads. The organization is persistent, consistently so, in its demands upon the persons and the purses of all Universalists everywhere. It must have money. It must have service. It will knock at the door of every home, in every parish, and the women of the household must respond. We are only half awake yet, we women, the most energetic of us. It is time to shake off this drowsiness, and open our eyes to the brilliant possibilities set before us. "The field is the world," said Christ.

Women of light, in this our day and generation, do we not thrill to the glorious challenge, and answer back, all together with voice, and heart, and hand, and purse, "The world for Christ!"

Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 14.

XX.

WOMAN'S STATE MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS.

BY MRS. M. R. M. WALLACE.

RELIGION knows no sex. We are "all one in Christ Jesus." Yet as each part of the whole body has its particular function, so in the Christian world there is special work for all—men and women, the youth, children—each in their own way. All at last bring their fruits to one altar, one Father, one Christ, one heavenly home. As in the days of old the laurel wreath was woven for the poet's brow, so today one by one, would we gladly string upon the thread of this paper, the pearls of loving deeds performed by devoted Christian women. The time allotted to the theme, however, will not admit of any elaborate mention. We must therefore speak only in general terms of woman's labors in the missionary field.

St. Paul in his epistles speaks often of the great aid given him by the women of the early church and calls them "My helpers in Christ Jesus." It is needless to recount the well known deeds of woman during those

early days of Christianity. Throughout the New Testament they are found exhibiting their power and influence, and today how many heads bow and knees bend to the worship of Mary, the representative of divine motherhood! The recording angel upon the pages of the "Book of Life" writes with pen luminous with love, the noble deeds of women, and their self-sacrificing labors for the faith they cherish.

Christianity is not simply a place of worship with pastor preaching on the Sabbath day, a Sunday-school well organized, and occasionally a "social" or a "conference." It is the "religion of Christians," which is sometimes shown in one way and oftentimes in another. It does not spring up in the night to as easily fade away; but, like the great oak from the acorn, grows steadily, sturdily, ever on and upward, reaching its arms to heaven. It is watered by tears and watched by prayers and every act of human kindness, every deed of heroic daring—love for the unfortunate, pity for the wayward, care for the weak—become leaves upon its branches.

Who, better than woman in her tenderness, her self-devotion, can aid in planting the seed?

Our missionary work in the states can only be judged in the progress of the work. It cannot be estimated in figures. In some states it is organized; in others it is not. Therefore it would not be just to any to attempt to give statistics from the incomplete material we have to draw from. The story told is always the same: "We help struggling churches;" "we care for the parish poor;" "we gather together for instruction the little ones from the streets;" "we hold meetings in parlors;" "we hold Sunday-schools where no church is yet started;" "we have refitted the church and are aiding in liquidating the church debt," etc. Along

all these lines the women of our church have been found doing their duty throughout all the states.

The strong point in these organizations is the fact that the women have more time and patience for the "little beginnings" that would perplex and puzzle the state boards which labor in the larger fields and on a grander scale; and like gleaners they will make use of the grain left behind by the busy harvesters. They are more willing to begin with a small outlook, toiling on with more zeal and hopefulness for the final culmination of their prayers. Their faith never falters, though the way be long and the days dark. They quietly and steadily march along saying, "the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." When a church is finally forced to close its doors, as sometimes happens, experience shows 'tis a woman's hand that holds the key, waiting and watching, for the day of better things.

Many state-workers have found in deserted parishes a few devoted women standing ready to pledge themselves to the future, and to renew the work on more promising lines.

In the Universalist church the first Woman's Association was the one organized in Illinois in 1868, and it is still in the field bearing its part of the work bravely. This Association has been instrumental by its example and advice in forming other associations, and now Massachussets, Indiana, Iowa, Ohio, Wisconsin and California have well organized associations doing good work. "In union there is strength," and these earnest women banded together to foster and encourage the interests of Universalism cannot fail, and will certainly be stronger and more powerful because of the united effort of many in one direction.

In this connection we offer a few words from recent letters, recounting in a general way the work of our women in the state organizations.

Iowa reports: "Our work was begun as a woman's work among women. The results must be seen largely in the improved condition of our cause throughout the state. It has been, in fact, a work of reviving pastorless churches and preventing serious loss that might occur to our scattered flocks. A retrospective view of the field encourages me to believe that the work has not been in vain."

Mrs. H. B. Manford, of California, remarks: "The women of the state organized four years ago as auxiliary to the State Convention, and have been industriously at work, having over one hundred members enrolled. The Association is doing a profitable work in the way of helping weak societies and distributing our denominational literature. The Universalist workers will be heard from as time goes on."

Mrs. H. B. Laflin, of Wisconsin, writes: "The work of women in our churches can hardly be recorded in dollars and cents. In the churches of Wisconsin the work of women is most pronounced. The Women's Association has been foremost in helping the work of the State Convention, and since its organization has contributed in membership and subscriptions, $1,764.88 to the missionary work."

In Massachusetts the Woman's Missionary Society is eight years old. The receipts have been $14,953.48, which amount includes $1,218 toward the loan fund for the woman's department at Tufts College. This Association has paid for home missions $6,433.54, and for foreign missions $800. Again the record is: "We help struggling churches in whatever way seems best,

assist needy students, and send Universalist literature to all parts of the country—reading-rooms, life-saving stations and anywhere where there is a call.'

These are only illustrations of the work of our women's state organizations. The record is substantially the same everywhere—in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, wherever our noble women are banded together in the work of the gospel. Woman is naturally a teacher. She is also by nature reverential. She accepts by faith many mysteries, knowing that life itself is something over which no human mind has control and that death is unexplained. Therefore she does not need to be convinced by argument. She believes, and believing with all her heart, by her earnestness she can impress the young, lead the old by example and precept, teach truth, righteousness and eternal love. When this force is organized how powerful the effort, how grand the results!

In the states having no associations the ground is covered by the national organization of the Woman's Centenary Association, which was organized in 1869, and has been doing faithful work ever since. Its noble history has its historian in this congress. The value of state organizations will be realized as time rolls on. And in this work, woman by her courage, gentleness, perseverance and faith, has shown herself capable of great usefulness. She will work, watch and pray as long as life shall last; and reaching out her hands to others, help them to carry on the good work, bearing the tidings of great joy to the poor, the weak, the forsaken. By these efforts the cause will be strengthened and established in many new fields. If every state had its good women at work, the united effort of all working

as one, would bring the waiting multitude to the Universal Father.

There is one fact in connection with these organizations that makes them particularly valuable. The controlling power is within the state lines, and its interests are centered there. This may sound selfish, yet it really is not. For every strong, self-supporting parish is a tower of strength to the denomination, and every strong state association that aids in repairing weak parishes, makes those churches able to send their contribution to the general funds, and so the work goes on, hand to hand, heart to heart, each for the other, and God over all.

Lo! a vision appears. The saintly woman whom to know was to bless, whose every act was full of loving kindness and every thought a prayer. Living to "work for Jesus," and dying, we can see her now borne heavenward on angels' wings. And as the pearly gates wide opened are, we hear the voices from within, singing: "Well done thou good and faithful servant." "She hath done, what she could." "ENTER IN!"

Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 14.

XXI.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S CHRISTIAN UNION.

BY JAMES D. TILLINGHAST.

ONE of the most important events that has occurred in the Universalist church for the past fifty years was the formation of the Young People's Christian Union.

The fault with the Universalist church of the past was its lack of interest in the young people and its consequent inability to retain them within its folds. Realizing this weakness, the General Convention in the autumn of 1886 established the Young People's Missionary Association, with the object of interesting the young people in raising money for the general church work. About sixty societies were formed, and did their part in educating for the Y. P. C. U. movement, but were only partial successes, because they were not the spontaneous outgrowth of the young people.

The first distinctively religious societies of the young people of the Universalist church were in the State of New York, where Young People's Societies of Christian Endeavor were organized at Rochester, Victor, Troy and other places, followed by the formation of

the Western New York Y. P. S. of C. E. Association. It is true that prior to this time there were many young people's societies in our church, but none whose avowed work was spiritual. The Y. P. C. U. is a lineal descendant of the Y. P. S. of C. E. and not of the Y. P. M. A. or any kindred society.

In the latter part of 1888 Rev. S. H. Roblin, then pastor of the Universalist church at Bay City, Mich., took steps toward forming a young people's devotional society, by appointing Mr. Alfred J. Cardall to take charge of it. A society was formed with Mr. Cardall as president. The society was a success from the start, although it was hard to educate the young people to that way of being religious; but finally they caught the spirit of it, and the spirit grew as they took up practical philanthropic work Connected with the society from its inception was Mr A. C. Grier, principal of the Bay City schools. He is the father of the movement that culminated in the formation of the National Young People's Christian Union at Lynn, Mass. To his push, executive ability and untiring zeal, aided by his earnest ready and willing co-laborers in the Bay City society, is due our national movement. He is now a minister of our church and was recently elected a member of the Executive Board of the National Union.

The success of the Bay City society was so gratifying, and its members were so impressed with its value, that they began to wish that every church in our denomination might have such a society.

Rev. Mr. Roblin having suggested that a national organization be formed, a committee of five, with Mr. Grier as chairman, was appointed to correspond with all the Universalist churches in the United States and

Canada, proposing the organization of a national society.

February 22, 1889, the committee prepared and mailed to every Universalist minister a circular containing important questions and stating objects A second circular was issued in June of the same year, which included a call for a convention to be held the day before the General Convention at Lynn, Mass., in the following October. Soon after this circular was issued, Mr. Grier was obliged to resign his position in the schools, drop his church work and go West on account of his health, which had been broken down by overwork. But the work that he had so nobly carried forward was left in good hands; as a result, the national organization will show.

The first national convention of the young people's religious societies connected with the Universalist church, began its session on the morning of Tuesday, October 22, 1889, in the vestry of the First Universalist church of Lynn. Rev. Dr. Pullman, pastor of the church, called the meeting to order, and Mr. Lee E. Joslyn, of Bay City, was made temporary chairman, with Miss N. Jenison, of Lynn, temporary secretary.

About 140 delegates were present, representing thirteen states and nearly fifty societies. Our present constitution was adopted; the name, "The Young People's Christian Union of the Universalist Church," chosen, and the following officers elected for one year:

President, Lee E. Joslyn, Bay City, Mich.; Secretary, James D. Tillinghast, Buffalo, N. Y.; Treasurer, Miss N. Jenison, Lynn, Mass.; Executive Board, J. Thomas Moore, Philadelphia, Penn.; Miss Clara B. Adams, Lynn, Mass.; Miss Angie M. Brooks, Portland, Me., and Miss Belle Gibson, Chicago, Ill.

The *Universalist Union*, issued November, 1887, as a parish paper for western New York, by Rev. L. B. Fisher, of Rochester, continued after a few issues by Rev. J. F. Leland, of Victor, and in August, 1889, passing into the hands of Mr. James D. Tillinghast, of Buffalo, was adopted as the official organ of the National Union. This paper is still the official organ of the National Y. P. C. U., with Mr. Tillinghast as editor. It has been and is one of the greatest factors in the upbuilding of the National Union.

The newly organized union, by committee, notified the General Convention of its formation and submitted its constitution and by-laws, which were approved. October 23, by resolution, the National Union pledged loyalty to the General Convention. During the first year copies of the constitution were printed and distributed; a model constitution for local unions prepared, topics for devotional meetings selected, vice presidents over seventeen states appointed by President Joslyn, and the general work of organization of local and state unions pushed forward.

The first annual convention of the National Union was held in the First Universalist church of Rochester, N. Y., October 20, 21, 1890. The greeting of the convention was telegraphed to the state Y. P. S. of C. E., of New York, in convention assembled at Buffalo; a resolution, commending the methods of work of the Y. P. S. of C. E. and urging the establishment of a cordial feeling and Christian fellowship among the young people's organizations of all churches, and pledging the support and work to promote such relations, was adopted; a committee appointed to prepare a design for a pin and report to the Executive Board; words of cheer and greeting were sent to Missionary Perin, of

Japan, and a committee to prepare a course of denominational reading was appointed.

The officers and Executive Board, excepting Miss Gibson, whose place was filled by Miss Mary Grace Webb, now Mrs. Canfield, of Akron, O., were re-elected. It was at this convention that the movement which has established a Universalist church at Harriman, Tenn., was commenced.

The idea of building a Universalist church at Harriman originated with Henry L Canfield, D. D., State Superintendent of Churches and Sunday Schools of Ohio, and was suggested to C. Ellwood Nash, D. D., then pastor at Akron.

To Dr. Nash is due the credit of the beginning and the continuance of the work Through his efforts, two lots 50x190 feet each, in the choicest possible locality in the infant city of Harriman, were donated by the East Tennessee Land Company, $1,000 pledged by Mr Ferdinand Schumacher of Akron, $555 by residents of Harriman and $445 by the directors of the East Tennessee Land Company, making $2,000 in all Then came the national convention of the Y. P C U., at Washington, Dr. Nash presenting the Harriman project.

The convention immediately instructed its officers to enter into a contract with the East Tennessee Land Company in behalf of the Y. P C. U., to build a Universalist church at Harriman to cost not less than $5,000; liberal subscriptions were pledged by the delegates present, and by vote, a committee with Dr. Nash as chairman, was appointed to take charge of the canvass for funds, and to secure a pastor for the coming church at the earliest possible date. The work for the coming year was pushed rapidly forward, eighteen states

were presided over by vice presidents, new unions were constantly being formed, and the Harriman work was taken up with a vigor

The second annual convention was held in Unity church, (Unitarian,) Cleveland, O., August 18, 19 and 20, 1891. The officers and executive committee were re-elected, a committee to prepare a Y. P. C. U, song and service book appointed, and the Harriman committee continued This committee reported that a contract had been entered into with Rev W H. McGlauflin, of Rochester, Minn., to become the missionary in charge, that funds nearly sufficient for the first year's salary and the church building had been pledged; the balance was subscribed by the delegates and friends present.

Mr. McGlauflin went immediately from the Cleveland convention to Harriman and preached there his first sermon the last Sunday of August, 1891. A legal and business organization was perfected the following month, called "The First Universalist Society," and an efficient building committee appointed. A larger and better structure was erected than was at first proposed; the additional money required being subscribed by members of the Harriman congregation. The corner stone of the building was laid December 2, 1891, and the church was formally opened for public worship on Easter Sunday, April 17, 1892. The sermon was preached by Dr. H. L. Canfield.

This handsome temple, which contains a parish house wherein the pastor and wife reside, is, including the grounds upon which it stands, worth at least $10,000. Thus far the church has never been closed on Sunday, and the purpose is that its doors shall on that day be always open for divine worship.

There is a local Y. P. C. U., Junior Union, Sunday school, (with 85 members,) and Woman's Missionary Alliance.

The church organization proper was completed on Y P. C. U. day, Sunday, January 30, 1892, when thirty-four names were entered, and twenty-three persons were present and received from the pastor formal welcome of fellowship. The number of communicants received up to July, 1893, is seventy.

The Harriman church is becoming firmly established, has in its membership and congregation much of the best brain and heart of the community, engages largely in local charitable work, is already a disseminator of the gospel of love in adjacent towns, where Mr. McGlauflin frequently holds meetings, and history may yet record that this, the first Y. P. C. U. mission, has itself become "a mother of churches."

The committee to prepare a design for a pin had during the year reported to the Executive Board, and the pins were placed on sale at the Cleveland convention.

During 1891-92, twenty-one vice-presidents were appointed, the membership of the National Union was increased, more societies adopted the name of the Y P C. U and the work along all lines showed a decided advance.

October 11, 12 and 13, 1892, the third annual convention was held in the First Universalist church at Reading, Penn. The report of the Harriman church, given by Mr. McGlauflin, showed that more funds were needed to meet past obligations and for the coming year's work. Over $1,000 was pledged for this purpose. A committee was appointed to secure from the Universalist Publishing House the publication of a

young people's paper, or to take other necessary steps to issue such a paper.

Upon recommendation of the Executive Board, the convention voted to take steps toward placing in the field a National Organizer. Towards this object $1143 was pledged by the delegates present, and a committee appointed to proceed with the further canvass for funds, and select and place in the field such organizer. A National Union at Large was established and a Y. P. C. U. Entertainment Bureau and an Invalid's Correspondence Bureau were instituted.

The officers elected were: President, Herbert B. Briggs, Cleveland, O.; secretary, James D. Tillinghast, Tufts College, Mass.; treasurer, Miss N. Jenison, Lynn, Mass.; Executive Board, J. Thomas Moore, Philadelphia, Penn., Miss Angie M. Brooks, Portland, Me., Mrs. Mary Grace Canfield, Cincinnati, O., and Rev. A. C. Grier, Charles City, Ia.

Soon after the convention, Miss Jenison resigned as treasurer, and Miss Lizzie H. Goldthwaite, of Danvers, Mass., was appointed to the office by the Executive Board.

The National Union was incorporated April 22, 1893, under the laws of the state of Massachusetts. Twenty-four states and provinces in the United States and Canada are now presided over by vice presidents, 15 state organizations, those of Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Minnesota, Vermont, and Wisconsin, and 240 local unions are members of the National Union, with an individual membership of over 12,000 persons. A steady increase in membership, and a more active and earnest interest in the cause, has characterized the work

of the past year. The name, "The Young People's Christian Union," is being adopted by a large majority of the young people's societies.

This, in brief, is the history of the Young People's Christian Union, from its birth to the present. Four years have shown a steady and healthy growth; the Universalist church has found in it an auxiliary organization of great strength and vigor, ever ready to assist when aid is asked The fondest dreams of the little band of workers in the Bay City church have been more than realized May the movement continue its growth, teaching the gospel of love, carrying ever the standard of the purest and best type of Christian manhood and womanhood, and may "The Lord watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another."

[Prepared for this volume by Mr James D. Tillinghast, from a "Historical Souvenir," compiled by Rev. Carl F. Henry and Mr. Herbert B. Briggs.]

XXII.

WAR, PEACE, AND NATIONAL HONOR.

BY HENRY BLANCHARD, D. D.

WHOEVER stands in the magnificent capitol of Connecticut, at Hartford, sees much to stir patriotic feeling. In receptacles ranged round some of the walls of the lower hall, are the torn and tattered flags of the battles of 1861 to 1865. Near by is the bronze statue of the war governor, William A. Buckingham. In the opposite wing of the building stands the statue of Nathan Hale, inscribed beneath which are his words: "My only regret is that I have only one life to give for my country." The flags make us see the firing on Sumter, the gathering of troops, the fields of strife, the prisons, the hospitals, the graves, the fall of Richmond, the great parade, the reunited country. The statue of the war governor recalls the consecration of the statesmen of those great days. The form of Nathan Hale tells the splendid story that the young are ready to die for country. Forever honored will he be who, forgetting self, is ready to give up life for his country's good. The passionate beat of the patriot's heart, however, must not put too much blood

into his brain. He is to see the heroism of the brave, but he must see, also, the horror, the barbarism of war. Believing in the universal Fatherhood of God and the resulting brotherhood of man, he is to ponder the story of strife in the past in the hope of the day of universal peace to come.

He will see, first, that war is incidental to the lower stages of man's development. Second, that some wars are noble, on the part of one of the combatants, and have greatly helped the development of mind and soul. Third, that peace is the goal towards which all movements ought to tend, and, fourth, that national honor must have a new meaning, accordant with, determined by, the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Let us then consider these points:

1. War is incidental to the lower stages of man's development.

Too much honor has been given to war. Poet, orator, historian, has placed it in glowing pictures before the minds of listening multitudes. Homer, Shakespeare, Cæsar, Motley, and their co-workers, have dwelt upon the courage, devotion, patriotism, which war develops, to such an extent of eulogy that the soldier shines in a blaze of glory. The waving flag has hidden the blackened corpse. Nevertheless, let us see that war belongs to the lower stage of man's progress.

The student can easily see the genesis of war. It springs from the unchecked selfishness of man. Child and barbarian want everything for themselves. Individual, tribe, nation, monarch, all seize what they desire. It is comical to watch the infant laying predatory hands upon everything within reach. It is painful to see the growing boy planning to get the larger share, or even the whole. It is interesting to see how tribe, na-

tion, aristocracy, oligarchy, monarch, make out reasons satisfying to themselves why they take possession of what belongs to others. All this comes from the nature of man. God has given him self love for his own preservation. Self love easily passes into selfishness. The warring tribe, or nation, is only showing distorted self love in making war upon its neighbor. I do not see, therefore, how war could be avoided. It is incidental to man's passage from self love to love of others. We can have patience with it, but we must not praise it.

2. Some wars have been noble on the part of one of the combatants, and have helped the development of intellectual, moral and spiritual powers.

If we had stood with Miltiades on the day he pleaded with Callimachus, the war ruler of Athens, to cast his deciding vote for battle on the plain of Marathon, we should have listened to noble words. The destiny of America was involved in that struggle. If Persia had won on that day of Marathon, there would have been no Cromwell, nor Pilgrims, nor United States. He who studies the progress of freedom from Marathon to Gettysburg sees that upon the casting vote of Callimachus for giving battle to the Persians, depended the victory of "a government of the people, for the people and by the people." Persia was infamous. Greece was glorious.

So, too, we see the nobleness of the combatants under Cromwell's lead against the perfidious Charles. Royalist historians have tried to blacken the name of Cromwell, but the search-light of modern historical investigation shows that the hero of Marston Moor was fighting for democracy in consecrated spirit—that had the battle been lost by Cromwell, Charles would have

crushed liberty in England and then in the colonies. Marston Moor made possible Lexington and Bunker Hill.

Who, in these days, can doubt the nobility of the cause championed by Sam. Adams and Patrick Henry? The stoutest defender of "peace at any price" may well stand silent before the majesty of George Washington and the grandeur of Samuel Adams. Our fathers were not just to the tories of America. These could give reasons for submission to parliament and king. Nevertheless, purer, nobler spirits never cried aloud for war than Otis and Warren and their noble band of coworkers.

Who doubts today, the nobility of the recourse to arms when Abraham Lincoln summoned the north to battle? There are many of us not yet very old men who can remember the arguments for submission to the slave power. Their advocates were often of noblest natures. The "copperhead" was frequently a lowly Christian. But we see now that only arbitrament by war could settle such a vexed question. John C. Calhoun, the architect of secession, had built his ideas into the brains of the South. Men, honest, learned, religious, believed in the right of secession. To oppose them seemed almost a betrayal of Christ. But today we believe, without a shadow of doubt, that the gleaming sword of the North was an instrument of God for the salvation of the republic.

When, therefore, one thinks what development of mind and soul these wars produced—when he thinks of the courage, the self-sacrifice, the planning, the overcoming of difficulties, the trust in God accompanying war, he knows that horrible as is war, true glory—glory of soul—shines above the blackness of battle.

When Napoleon, on the morning of Austerlitz, saw that the Russians were moving from their heights to the field below, his exultation was fiendish. "I have them now; I will destroy them," were his words. His military genius enabled him to see the awful mistake his foes were making. His knowledge of battle showed him at once what carnage his artillery would speedily occasion. As I see him sitting on his horse and gloating over the coming destruction of men, my soul loathes him. It was for his own glory he was fighting. He, the veneered barbarian, is a sight awful to God and to lovers of man. Yet, among the soldiers, what self-forgetfulness—what readiness to trust in the leader—what courage—what ecstacy in dying—lighted up that awful field of Austerlitz!

And if in such a scene we can see glory in darkness, what was that which shone at Marston Moor and Bunker Hill?

3. Peace is the goal towards which all things ought to tend.

Henry of Navarre dreamed of a day of universal peace. Ulysses Grant prayed for it. The bravest soldiers have always hated war and longed for peace.

When, therefore, I read of senators and congressmen talking about war, I often ask myself, "Have these men ever been in battle? Have they wandered over its fields in search of wounded and dying, and the dead? Do they know what Wellington said of war?" When I read speeches that declare the need of navies and forts, I marvel that men, professing to be Christians, can talk and write as they do about war and the impossibility of a speedy coming of a day of universal peace. Our duty, as Universalists, is plain. We are to say that peace can be universal and it can be es-

tablished speedily. Our means are education and religion.

We are to teach the youth of our land what is the barbarity, the cost, the folly of most wars. I have so much faith in the gymnastics of military drill, and so much respect for the noble qualities of reverence for superiors and obedience to commands, that I am willing to have the manual of arms a part of the discipline of public schools.

A body of trained citizen soldiers will long be the need of our country. I can, therefore, favor our system of militia. But we must teach our youths and our citizen soldiers what is the barbarity, the cost, the folly of most wars. To this end, I would have history made a far more important part of study than now it is. He who knows this will speedily hate war, even though he honor some wars.

Let the student know of the atrocities of Ghengis Khan; let him learn of the ferocities of religious wars; let him study the deeds of Darius and Xerxes and Cæsar; let him know well the story of the Thirty Years War—the assault of Spain on the Netherlands—the Indian wars in America instigated by Christian Frenchmen, and his soul will be in revolt against war. Let him be taught the colossal cost of armies even in peace—the waste in war. Let him know that in 1618 Germany had sixteen millions of people; in 1648 only four—that it took more than a hundred years to raise as many cattle as there were at the beginning of that awful war, and though he glories in Gustavus Adolphus, he will hate war.

Let him see how often, after bloody battles, the treaties of peace put back contestants into the same territorial relations as before, though to gain the new

land was the very object of war. And as he reads and reads, and ponders, he will say: "Was ever greater folly committed than by monarchs and statesmen dragging nations into war?"

For myself, therefore, the desire is passionate that our high schools and academies—with which the education of so many of our young people ends—and our colleges—wherein such great opportunities may be found to teach men what war is—shall give largest place to history, since by it alone can the barbarity, the cost, the folly of war be fully shown. This word is needed. Science is so entrancing today with her magnificent achievements that history is not studied as it should be. And since the large majority of our makers of laws and their executors, are graduates of colleges, the need is imperative that young men, whose bent is towards law and politics, should be specially trained in knowledge of the past. I am convinced that the opportunity of college life to produce strong conviction concerning war—and indeed many other evils—is not sufficiently recognized. "We must turn to these seats of learning," said an English scholar, "to teach men to live in the spirit." He did not ignore the church, but he knew what daily study and intercourse with professors can accomplish in enabling young men to think high thoughts and plan noble deeds. If power were in my hands, I would have the study of Israel and Greece and Rome and Germany and America made so large a part of the college curriculum that the graduates of all our great institutions of learning should go forth with a burning hatred of war.

We must rely, also, on our religion. We teach the Fatherhood of God—the brotherhood of man—the ultimate salvation of all men. We believe that action in

this life has large influence upon the spiritual condition of the life to come. We warn men that selfishness, greed, lust, love of power, will make awful mark on character. We teach that men begin the next life as they leave this. We are to appeal to men, therefore, to outgrow the low estate in which they think chiefly of their own rights instead of their duties to others. We are to ask them to see the glory of service.

We are to tell them that grasping after possessions and power is base. We are to bid them die to their lower selves in order to live to their higher selves. Accomplishing this, we can finally reach the realm of politics. Oftentimes men are noble as individuals, but ignoble as members of the body politic. They will be kind at home and honest in business, but tortuous in political life.

It is for us to say that life is not a divided realm—one part for God and one part for devil. We are to say to men: "The nation must be as unselfish as the individual. The individual bully is despised. Why shall not the national bully be as much contemned?" We are to demand of our churches, therefore, a stronger emphasis on ethics. To sing, to pray, to worship God, is good. To see the sweetness and light of Jesus Christ is delightful. But history shows us how divorced worship has often been from morals.

The great cities, the acts of congress, show us how often the golden rule is considered an "iridescent dream." The old cries, "our country right or wrong," and "manifest destiny," do not resound as once they did, but nevertheless, too many statesmen seem willing to approve what they, as individuals, would disown. The duel has gone out of fashion. How much it cost to abolish it, he who reads may learn. Why shall not

war—the duel between nations—be as much condemned by those who say there is one Heavenly Father and one family of mankind?

Pardon me for a personal allusion. Asked by a member of the American Peace Society, while I was a pastor in Indianapolis, to preach on peace, he told me I was the only minister who would consent to do so. Was my heterodoxy more accordant with Christ than the city's orthodoxy? As I think of the silence of the pulpits concerning the demand of our religion that we should work for peace, I feel that we have not used the power of Christianity as we should.

Let us who believe in Universalism resolve anew that we will do all we can to hasten the day of universal peace. Let us depend on education and still more on religion.

4. We are to put a new meaning into the words "National Honor."

It is curious to study the escutcheons of the warriors of the past. We see the image of the lion, the bear, the boar. We see how utterly unperceived is the glory of service to the weak. One prince, indeed, has a noble motto—the Prince of Wales—"Ich dien," I serve. But as you look on the pictures of the coats of arms and read their mottoes, you see the savage instinct of fight, of violence, of robbery, constantly manifesting itself. The Tartars worshipped their scimetars. Thousands of Christians did the same in reality though their knees were bowed to Christ or virgin or saint. And if today you listen to speeches in German Reichstag, or French Assembly, or English Parliament, or American Congress, and hear the words "National Honor," you will speedily perceive that usually they mean the sensitiveness which will strike, instead of the love that will serve. We

must put new meaning into these words. We are to say calmly, gladly, triumphantly: "National Honor means service to the world. It means that America wishes to help. It means that she overlooks offense, conscious of strength—eager to serve."

Some senators, doubtless, would be "fatigued" by such language. Some representatives would say, "A nation is not a church." Others would declare: "War is the natural condition of nations."

Some time ago I asked a distinguished statesman to advocate a certain measure. His reply was: "Oh! I am only a politician—a representative of public opinion. You must be the agitator for ideas." A feeling of sadness came over me. I thought: "Oh! if I were in your place, I would not be content to be a representative of public opinion. Nothing less than being a creator of public opinion would satisfy me."

We must be patient. There is a small truth underlying the words I have quoted. The politician must represent. All the more need, then, that we should create public sentiment. All the more need that our pulpits should resound with the words: "National Honor means universal service."

Aristotle said: "Politics is the science of living together nobly." To do this is honorable. But hitherto, very largely, has man's language shown that honor among nations meant touchiness—the doubled fist—the swift blow.

Would that Aristotle could have presided in all assemblies discussing war!

Milton's wish for England was that she might teach nations how to live. Surely that must be the wish of Americans for America. To teach she must live nobly. To do this, she must not bully small na-

tions, nor affront great ones. She must see that God has chosen her to serve. She can do this by establishing arbitration and by working for a universal court of nations. Surely it was honorable to seek decision of our claims concerning Behring sea by the assembly in Paris. Surely it was honorable to accept gratefully the final judgment. By so doing we, indeed, are serving. Other nations will follow our example and some day I fondly hope, we shall have a world's tribunal before which shall be brought all causes in dispute.

For the discussion of this theme of war, peace, and national honor, this season of the World's Fair, in this great city of Chicago, is auspicious. The nations of the world are communicating with each other by the exhibition of their products in the White City. The Parliament of Religions brings them together as they tell of their beliefs. In such a hour, it is meet that we should feel, as never before, the solidarity of mankind, and long for, and work for, the federation of nations. The great gun of the Krupp's manufactory is in its place in yonder fair. It tells what man has been able to do in creating instruments for man's destruction. But there, also, is the gigantic search-light with its 200,000,000 candle power, showing what man has done to use the wondrous agent we call electricity, to illumine darkness and fog and storm. That is a fitter symbol of the coming times than the gigantic gun. On one of Louis XIV's cannon were the words, "The argument of kings." Our search-light shall declare it is the argument of the people. The time is coming when we shall have no need of cannon. The time will never be on earth when we shall have no need of light. Invention amazes; arts increase; the twentieth century will reap great results from the marvelous achievements of the

last twenty years. Invention, arts, I solemnly believe, will make useless bayonets and sword and cannon, but light, more light, in material form, will only symbolize the light which thought shall give to the great problems of society. If all the electric thoughts of this last decade of the nineteenth century could blaze out in light, as does the great search-light yonder, it would show us the path of the future upon which we are advancing—the path, growing brighter and brighter unto the perfect day, wherein shall be made real the vision that has forever haunted prophet and poet of "peace on earth, good will to men,"—the day when war shall be no more, and that nation shall be greatest which best serves the world.

Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 13.

XXIII.

CRIME, CAPITAL PUNISHMENT, INTEMPERANCE.

BY REV. OLYMPIA BROWN WILLIS.

THE problem of evil has been the stumbling block of philosophers and theologians from the beginning of human investigation. Why the earth, which seems made to be an expression of divine love and wisdom, a revelation of infinite beauty, glowing with the tints of the morning and rhythmic with the thousand voices of nature, should at the same time be made the scene of disaster, of pain, of crime, and death; why man should at once be an angel of light and love, and a demon of devouring wrath, are questions upon which men have theorized and debated for ages, without arriving at any results at all commensurate with the effort put forth. And after all the researches that have been made, after the philosopher has speculated long and painfully upon the profound principles of the universe, after logic has paced the whole course, through the consecutive steps of the syllogism, from premises to conclusion, we come at last to this: that

we cannot know and must rest in the simple faith that God is good, and has created all things in love, that love must bound the entire range of creation, and that good must at last overtop and rule all things.

With this faith alone we can "solve the riddle of the painful earth," and only by means of this faith can we answer the difficult questions which are suggested by crime, intemperance, and their associated vices. It is only in the spirit of love for man and with faith in his capabilities, that we can rightly deal with those unfortunate classes, who are not only bringing destruction upon themselves, but endangering the peace of society, and imperiling the most sacred of human interests.

Every thoughtful observer recognizes the fact that a large proportion of the misery of the world results from crime. Because of violations of law the world is filled with pain; terrible tragedies are enacted which appall the hearts of the bravest and chill the blood of the most enthusiastic; poorhouses and jails, prisons and scaffolds, riots and revolutions, turn the earth, which might be a paradise, into a pandemonium, and make insignificant even the infernos of the great poet. Homes are despoiled, hearts are broken, social life permeated with distrust and doubt, and business made insecure, because of crime. It is not enough, as an explanation of these things, to shirk the responsibility of human action by laying all guilt at the door of Adam, who in turn casts upon Eve the odium of his disobedience: "The woman that thou gavest me, she did eat." Nor is it a sufficient cure to say, "I have laid all my sins on Jesus." The same system which explains the origin of evil by referring all the wickedness of man back to poor Mother Eve, finds an adequate remedy for human transgression in the vicarious suffering of Jesus Christ.

Other explanations, such as that of two opposing and equal deities, one a great principle of evil, and the other of good, both striving to rule the earth, and obtain control of the human race, or the modern supposition that a great archangel fell from heaven and became a ruler in the regions of hell, whence he is ever putting forth his efforts to draw men from God, thus thwarting the purposes of the Almighty himself, belong rather to primitive periods. when the passions of men were personified and ascribed to deities, who were represented as mingling in the affairs of the world, bringing victories and untold blessings upon their friends and overwhelming their enemies with disaster and ruin.

In the light of Christian revelation, the Universalist recognizes a God of love, who in the beginning created all things, and declared it all very good; a God omnipotent, ruling the universe in the spirit of benevolence, rewarding and punishing his children for their good.

> "He wounds them for his mercy's sake,
> He wounds to heal."

"No chastening for the present is joyous, but grievous; nevertheless afterwards it bringeth forth the peaceable fruits of righteousness unto them that are exercised thereby."

We must look upon man and human society as an unfinished work. We see but in part; a small segment is before us for our consideration and for the completion of the circle we must look into the vast cycles of the future. The acts of men are a series of experiments, some of them wisely made, in conformity with the laws of the universe and resulting in immeasurable joy and blessedness; others, done at random, without regard to law, or in wilful disobedience, and bringing in their train, disappointment and failure.

The criminal is one of the great human family; he is a man, a child of God. The sacred record tells us that God created man in his own image, that is, he was given intellect, and a moral nature, ability to discriminate between good and evil; he was endowed with spiritual powers and capacities, which being developed, would enable him to grow up into the "fullness of the measure of the stature of the perfect man," who should at last appear in the beauty of holiness, in the likeness of the divine. We must regard man as created for holiness, endowed with an insatiable longing for better things, and placed here on earth for purposes of development, to learn the laws of his being by observation and experience, to endure the results of his own conduct, until he shall gain that wisdom which shall teach him to cease to do evil and learn to do well. He must listen to the divine commands breathed into his soul, until he shall learn to find in complete obedience to God's will, the fullest liberty; in consciousness of the divine presence, the real heaven; and in union with the divine life, his true self. The transgressor is an experimentor who has blundered. Men think to enrich themselves, to gratify passion, to get good, by wrong doing. The transgressor finds himself confronted everywhere by the avenging spirit of a violated law, and all nature, from the shining stars above our heads to the minutest molecule under our feet, is in combination to foil his plans and thwart his iniquitous purposes. Failure, defeat, and ruin, wait for him at every corner. He is his own worst enemy and he carries about his own condemnation with him. He is himself the principal witness, the inexorable judge, the uncompromising jury, and the merciless executioner. His condition appeals to our sympathy while his con-

duct calls for our condemnation. With this view of the criminal, as a mistaken and erring man, but still a child of the great All Father, capable of excellence, and destined to final salvation, we ask how a Christian government should punish crime, and what means a Christian people should use to eliminate intemperance and the vices that follow in its train, to banish crime, and bring in the reign of peace, truth, and righteousness?

In the first place it must be conceded that retribution does not belong to human courts. God has not appointed any man as his vicegerent to punish a brother man. Human judgments must always fail of the requirements of absolute justice. Human vision is too limited to mete out retribution.

"Judgment is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord of hosts."

"Who knows the heart, 'tis he alone,
Decidedly can try us;
He knows each chord, its various tone;
Each spring—its various bias;
Then at the balance, let's be mute,
We never can adjust it;
What's done, we partly may compute,
But know not what's resisted."

Our punishments then can properly seek to accomplish only two objects, namely, the protection of society and the rescue of the criminal. Heretofore, criminal codes have concerned themselves chiefly with the former. Man is bound up in relations with his fellows and the evil that men do, reaches from circle to circle, until it extends to the remotest ramifications of social life. The instinct of self preservation, naturally suggested in early times, that the criminal should be secluded, imprisoned, or put to the death, hence the death penalty, being the easiest and safest, became the usual method of disposing of the wrong-doer.

The severest doctrines of the old dispensation furnish the example followed by human legislatures: "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, blood for blood, death for death."

The spirit of retaliation characterized the courts, and the judges were most bitter avengers. The cruelties of a Jeffreys and the iniquities of the inquisition, were justified by the desire to protect society from the evil influence of the wrong-doer. The smallest crimes were visited with death, and there was nothing more severe with which to punish the greatest. In the time of Blackstone there were in England, one hundred and sixty different offences punishable by death. This has now been reduced to two or three, while in our own country, murder is the only crime punishable with death. The humane doctrines of religion taught by the Universalist church and modifying the theologies of all the churches, have left their impress upon legislation and our law-makers are now recognizing the fact that they are not warranted in taking life even for the protection of society. They are beginning to see that they owe a duty to the criminal, who is often the result of artificial and absurd conditions of society, enforced idleness, ignorance and evil associations, which are the usual precursors of crime. As a man and a brother, as well as a victim of our civilization, the criminal has a claim upon the charitable consideration of legislators.

Experience has demonstrated that the death penalty does not lessen crime. On the contrary, by exciting the imagination and brutalizing the feelings of the people, it tends to increase the evil and to demoralize the public conscience; while thoughtful Christian people are realizing that human life is too sacred and mysterious a gift of God to be placed in the hands of

any human court. "Unto God, the Lord, belong the issues from death." No human power has a right to take that life which God gave and which it is his alone to demand.

Statistics gathered by Rev. Charles Spear, Bovee Dodds, and others of the Universalist church, present many cases in which the death penalty has been inflicted upon those who were afterwards proven to be innocent, and whose broken life no power could recall. Their researches have shown that the death penalty is a failure as a means of protecting society, for while one criminal has been removed, the influence of the execution has created a dozen more, and thus multiplied the evil. They have shown that the death penalty is vindictive, unjust and generally ineffectual to accomplish the object sought. Through the efforts of these noble Universalist men, the death penalty has been abolished in many of the states of our country, and all are coming to see that society can best be protected by rescuing and reforming the criminal.

In some states, institutions for the reformation of the unfortunate classes have been attempted, but these are few and incomplete, and are considered, as yet, in the experimental stage. Is it too much to ask of a Christian civilization that it shall invent and adopt some system of prison discipline which shall make our penal institutions the means of saving the sinner; places where the condemned man may learn to feel the wickedness of the course he has pursued; where he may have such education as will stimulate a desire for holiness and enable him to seek a better life?

The criminal is a sick man and he needs the most wise and careful treatment of the physician of souls. Not sentimental pity, nor foolish pampering, which

might cultivate a deceptive self-complacency, but regular and thorough discipline, wise instruction, and such training as would promote industry and prepare him for self-support. The term of punishment might be made to depend on good behavior. His earnings might be invested and kept as an endowment for him on leaving the prison, or sent home to supply the wants of a needy family.

Those spiritual advisers most versed in the dietetics of the soul should be employed to train the moral faculties and cultivate a sense of individual responsibility. Business forms and useful trades should be taught, so that upon leaving the prison, the man should go forth, not brutalized by evil associations, nor benumbed by idleness, nor pauperized by unremunerative years, but fitted for usefulness and prepared for a self-respecting manhood.

A few of these reforms in prison life have been attempted. England in her penal colonies in New South Wales has tried a system, similar to that outlined above. The reports of those having charge of the prisons have shown that a large proportion of the prisoners, after their release, became reliable, industrious and useful citizens. In some states in this country where reformatories have been established for certain classes of criminals, it has been found that over eighty per cent. of the men committed went out to live good and useful lives. There can be no doubt that the greater part of those who belong to the criminal class might under such favorable conditions as are practicable today, be saved to usefulness and a respectable manhood, and had we sufficient discrimination, skill and patience, all of them might be reclaimed. Such a work would be worthy of a civilization based on the Christian doctrine of love.

It is a disgrace to this age of reform which claims to have done so much for the temperance cause, that as yet there is no adequate provision made by law, either for punishing, reforming, or providing for the drunkard, who is left to roam the streets of our cities, frightening timid women, following any mad caprice which may suggest itself to his diseased brain, a constant source of trouble to the police and a continuous and terrible drain on the public treasury, often intrusted with the transaction of important business, and even permitted to attend to affairs of state; while, after all our lectures and petitions, and tears and prayers, our only tangible remedy for drunkenness is the skin deep Keeley cure, and that kept as a means of private gain and therefore accessible only to those who can command money. When shall we learn that we need not only a cure for the physical disease, but a tonic for the soul? When shall we recognize that spiritual forces must combine to lift the man into the atmosphere of higher influences, rousing his moral perceptions and placing him on the high vantage ground of moral truth? Why should we not have asylums for the intemperate, to which those convicted of wilful and habitual drunkenness should be condemned for a term of years, during which they should not only be treated for the physical disease, but for the spiritual as well, while industry should be enforced and the weekly earnings sent home for family support. Such asylums would be a great relief to drunkards' wives all over the land, who, often in the midst of poverty, with children to support, are spending their time in ceaseless anxiety waiting on the paroxysms of drunkenness of the husband and the father, suffering untold fear, besides nightly watching and daily toil.

Were the drunkards of the country safely housed in such retreats, the crimes committed by men when under the influence of intoxicating liquors would be saved. Both public and private business would be much better done than now, and a stigma would be placed upon drunkenness that would do more to restrain men than all the temperance lectures and temperance pledges in the world, and which would help to strengthen, educate and develop in the drunkard a better and higher standard of character. Surely the revenues that the state derives from the traffic in intoxicating liquors would be sufficient to support such asylums, and there could be no more just and appropriate use of such funds.

A state that replenishes its treasury by the making of drunkards ought at least to take care of them after they are made. We provide asylums for the insane, we punish the criminal, we support the poor, we educate the idiot, but this man who combines some or all of the characteristics of all these is left without care, to destroy himself, harass society and multiply crime. Alike for the drunkard and the criminal punishment as a means of reformation is what we seek. The drunken, the vicious, the criminal classes, can all be saved by that charity which suffereth long and is kind. Christian love expressed in legislation could most effectually protect society while saving the sinner.

Asylums, reformatories and educational prisons are the great needs of our civilization; and the tendency of the humanitarian spirit of the time is toward such provision for the criminal. We pity the blind and the deaf, and the state supports the asylum where these defects of the body may be overcome; how much more important to heal obliquities of the moral vision and to

open the spiritual ear to the harmonies of the universe. Those who are morally and spiritually blind, and deaf, and idiotic, and paralyzed, should be the objects of our commiseration and care.

The utilitarian may say that our state prisons are already sufficiently expensive, and to add education for the intellect, spiritual culture and physical training, would needlessly multiply expense and lay heavy burdens upon society for the sake of the undeserving. But, if by this means we shall lessen crime, the ultimate effect will be to save expense and relieve the state of the effects of criminality. If the ex-convict can be sent out no longer a hardened wretch to spread his malaria abroad, but a redeemed man, to take his place on the side of those who are working for righteousness, the money expended in his reformation will be a good investment. But money cannot be weighed in the balance with character. To what better use can the wealth of the world be applied than the building up of a higher manhood? A single soul is worth more than all the wealth of the world though it were piled mountain high. The gold and silver stored away in nature's great treasure houses, which has so often served as a temptation to the weak, over which wicked men fight, boards of trade speculate, and legislators wrangle, must be transmuted into that brightest of all the precious metals—human virtue—the grandest transmutation that has ever been wrought. No outlay is extravagant if it can save the criminal and lessen crime.

But while we seek to throw needed guards and helps around the mentally and morally infirm, we must beware lest we fall into the delusion of many Utopian dreamers who would make the government a perpetual guardian and all the people lifelong minor children.

Such theorists have pictured a condition in which, by an equitable distribution of the wealth of the world, by a thorough organization of society, by wise regulations, people should be kept good and all temptation removed, leaving almost no possibility of crime. The demand for laws prohibiting the sale of intoxicants, is allied to this class of preventive measures, which would make men good by external surroundings. But all such methods lack the essential element in the development of character, namely: the appeal to individual accountability. Men must be thrown upon their own resources; whether out in the great free world or in the asylum for mental and moral cure, individual responsibility must be recognized and cultivated.

The child continues irresponsible, careless and characterless so long as the parent decides for him and governs his actions. He becomes a man when he is thrown out into the world to bear its burdens, to do its duties and share its responsibilities alone. Everyone must bear his part in working out the great experiment of human development. There is no royal road to the kingdom of heaven. We cannot make men good by organizations. Resolutions unanimously passed in great assemblies do not touch the inner life. The great resolution must be passed in the soul of the individual and inscribed there in letters of living light, God and the angels being the witnesses.

There is no real growth in virtue except as the will is strengthened, and the higher nature installed in authority, the lower and the sensual being brought into subjection. Each man must learn, if need be, by the most bitter experience, that disobedience to law is physical, mental and moral ruin. In the rebound from the extreme severities of the past there has, of late,

been a tendency to lionize the criminal, surrounding him with a delusive glamour which has sometimes obscured the loathsomeness of his iniquity. Especially has this been true in the temperance work, where bad men and the worst of drunkards, have sometimes been put forward as leaders and assumed the role of public instructors, much to the demoralization of society and the injury of the cause.

There has been too much sentimental sympathy for the drunkard, as though he were an innocent, helpless, and harmless child, to be protected, watched and flattered, instead of a man, to assert his manhood, and overcome temptation. The sooner we treat habitual and willful drunkenness as a crime, punishing it as a crime, and visiting upon it the odium which attaches to crime, the sooner will the saloon-keeper find himself without an occupation, and society be redeemed from one of the most fearful curses that ever fell upon the race. The true temperance reform must begin in the soul of the individual. Scientific temperance instruction in the schools is well, but if we have not at the same time trained the will and educated the moral sense we shall have done little toward saving the child from intemperance and the train of vices which follow in its wake. Our methods of prevention must be along the lines of such education as will develop a sense of responsibility, a recognition of moral law and a power of will that shall give to the world a generation of men strong to stand against the evil, to overcome unfortunate conditions, and to mold circumstances to their needs.

What more fitting work for the Universalist Christian than to seek and find some tangible and practical means of applying our grand doctrines of the love of

God and the worth of man, to the reformation of the criminal? We count among our victories the fact that to the efforts of representatives of the Universalist church is due the repeal of the death penalty in many states, and it is to our honor that it was the Universalist church that led the way in that great wave of temperance agitation which has swept over this country for a century and a half. Shall we not add a new gem to our crown, and carry forward still farther the great humanitarian work begun by our fathers, by securing charitable, wise and improving conditions for the criminal?

The criminal is a man, aye, sometimes a woman, to whom has been given a soul—that soul capable of salvation from its present degradation; a man, a woman, placed here for discipline, that they may at last show forth the beauty of holiness, and reveal the love of God. No work for this erring child of the great All Father can be in vain; there is no room for doubt or despair.

Both Scripture and the laws of the natural world show us that the ultimate triumph of the good is inevitable; that God has purposed, and in his own good time will accomplish, the salvation of all souls, and that his love reaches to the poorest wanderer on the face of the earth. There is no possibility of discouragement, but rather let statesmen and philanthropists rejoice to be the instruments of the Lord in this work of human redemption, counting it the greatest glory to be the agents of Him who "maketh his angels spirits and his ministers a flaming fire."

As of old, the artists took their subjects from the rude and homely figures of the street, and by the magic power of genius, transformed and glorified them,

presenting at last perfect specimens of symmetry and beauty, so the Christian of today may from these poor, benighted, storm-tossed, misguided men or women, by the magic power of love, develop symmetrical and beautiful characters. We are not alone in this struggle with the gross and the material. Divine inspirations intervene to stimulate the intellect, touch the heart and illustrate the power of law. All the forces of nature are with us. Spiritual and unseen powers are also with us. "The whirlwind of miracle blows continually." The spirit of the Lord broods upon the earth and great inspirations are born. A Messiah comes, bearing the torch which lights us through the gloom, making clear the path of duty, and giving assurance of final victory. He shows us how to strengthen and confirm the good, to cast out the demons of selfishness, pride, greed, and lust, until at last the divine man shall stand forth, made perfect in love and clothed in garments of holiness. As one has said: "Civilization is manhood developing itself from within, outward; human intelligence radiates, wins, subdues, humanizes matter—sublime domestication." The material must be subject to the spiritual; this mortal must be dominated by the immortal; this corruptible must put on incorruption.

Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 13.

XXIV.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS AND BUSINESS AND POLITICAL SUCCESSES

BY REV. A. N. ALCOTT.

THE only real problem here is how to get ethics into business and politics. No one will dispute that ethics ought to pervade, and would better pervade, both these spheres of human activity. The feasibility of this, taking the world as we find it, is not so clear. There is a wide-spread, though quiet, scepticism, among business men and politicians, to which there are many honorable exceptions, as to the workability of religion in modern practical life. This scepticism chills their moral ardor and represses their interest in, and enthusiasm for, religion. It hinders faith, and consequently the disposition prevails too much to relegate religion and its beautiful hopes as to the moral nature of man, to some distant future not on an earthly shore.

Rev. Dr. Josiah Strong pertinently and truly says: "Here is the most serious question of our times—is Christianity able to establish right relations between

man and man? The scepticism which is most dangerous to Christianity today is not doubt as to the age and authenticity of its sacred books, or distrust of its time-honored doctrines, but the loss of faith in its vitality." That is it. A grand moral life, in all life's affairs and relations, is, it is strongly suspected, not practicable here in this world, or compatible with success, however desirable or becoming it might be.

Look at the sentiments which have prevailed at one time and another that prove the existence of this feeling. Sir Robert Walpole, an English politician of the eighteenth century, coined the saying, "Every man has his price." The historian Tytler, speaking of Sylla, the Roman, utters the sentiment that is privately current among many men as to the hopelessness of strict ethics in the struggles of life: "Sylla lived in evil times when it was impossible at once to be great and to be virtuous." It is well-known that Napoleon thought it necessary to appeal to the lower self-interest of men in order to attain his ends. He desired practical men in some such sense as we hear of "practical politics." He despised ideologists of every species. But Napoleon died on St. Helena and ideology has given France a republic. Tytler is answered by the life of Marcus Aurelius, who in that same ancient and evil Roman age, governed the Roman empire, and so bore him, in the midst of the tumults of military life, and the turbulence and intrigues of the civil state, that his piety and morality, his manhood and character, as well as his glorious successes, have been immortalized. In Metternich's time, so common was untruth and deceit in diplomacy, so necessary was it thought to be, and truth so unexpected, that this great statesman only needed to tell the truth at Paris in order to mislead. Truth was more diplomatic than insincerity.

All this shows the perhaps unconfessed, but real beliefs of many men. And so the grave question arises: Can Christianity be made a living, working, realized religion in daily human affairs? Can men succeed and strictly practice it? Questions of theological doctrine are at present as nothing to the world in comparison to the importance of this question: Is Christian ethics, as a path to success, workable in business and politics? Christianity itself, as an aggressive religion, must stand or fall, move on to grand conquests or pause in defeat, by the practicability or the impracticability of its moral ideals in this energizing world of ours. It has come to that. Henceforth, according as the world's decision shall be, will our religion be more and more, either a toy to comfort and amuse men's imagination in a measure, or a real, living, vital power and force, sought for in the hand to hand struggles of human life. Christianity is offered to us for use here. Can we use it? Can it be made clear that Christian ethics is the only sound political economy, using that phrase in its broadest and most comprehensive sense, as well as the highest moral beauty? Can it be shown that all human interests, moral, and material and social, are in perfect harmony? And this, not that we should follow the ethical for selfish reasons, or to gratify ambitious purposes, but that we may discern in the grand economy of God the profound concord of all forms of human well-being. What shall we say to the scepticism which in effect denies the affirmative reply to these queries?

1. Note the scope of Christian ethics as contemplated by its original teachers.

A carpenter founded and a tent-maker taught Christianity and its ethics. Both were business men, therefore. They were aided by fishermen and a receiver of cus-

toms, the latter a political appointee. All these were business men. The nation's politics, moreover, was a part of each one's religion. The Jew put his politics inside the sphere of his religion, and put the spirit of his religion inside his politics. Both business and politics, then, were originally included in the scope of Christian ethics. And the general rules of business men were these: "Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." "Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, in meteyard, in weight, or in measure; just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just bin shall ye have." The general rules of politics were these: "Moreover, thou shall provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness, and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens." "There is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God." Civil government, therefore, according to Christianity, is an ordinance of God, a law of man's nature, and perfect righteousness should pervade its constitution, and its administration, that is to say, its politics. And as covering both business and politics, as well as all other human relations and affairs, we further find this general rule in its doctrine: "Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets." The Jewish business men and statesmen, therefore, who founded Christianity, thoroughly believed in the practicability of Christian ethics in both business and politics. And profoundly believed in this, too, in an age when the world in general was far more rude, violent, cruel, corrupt, deceitful, intriguing, wicked and savage than the world now is. Against the scepticism

of which I speak, therefore, lies the prestige of Moses and all the prophets, of Jesus and all the apostles, and the endurance of their ideals through the most trying periods of history, and the most perplexed circumstances of human life for twenty centuries, yea for thirty-five centuries.

What shall we say to this scepticism?

2. This belief of Christianity in the practicability of ethics and in its compatibility with success in life, is warranted, and surprisingly reinforced, by an almost unconscious human conviction in other and unsuspected quarters. The common law, which is a monument of the world's best reason and common sense, proceeds on the theory that ethics is workable in all practical relations and affairs. Ethics is the very spirit and substance of it. Again statute law and equity jurisprudence both assume the same. A republican form of government likewise assumes it, and deliberately proceeds to build itself on the possibility of strict justice, equity, fraternity and civil equality among men. Human society, morever, necessitates the ethical. Its integrity and existence depend on it. Its nature involves and implies it. Once more, civilization assumes it. The soul of truth which inhabits the whole civil fabric, and legal frame of modern time, is this ethics. And this soul of truth is most happily expressed in those beautiful precepts of Justinian: "Justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum cuique tribuendi." "Juris præcepta sunt haec, honeste vivere, alterum non lædere, jus suum cuique tribuere." And originally this was arduously thought out in a much ruder age than ours, and one other than Christian, and it was to be a practical, every-day rule among men. Finally, Universalism believes this ethics so

practicable on earth and in the universe, that it will at last conquer all evil, and all souls, and unite all men in one brotherhood, and the unethical so impracticable that eventually, it will be wholly expelled from earth and the universe of God. Christian ethics, therefore, finds a strong bulwark in all these great forms of the world's instinctive, intuitive conviction, reason and common sense. The world has always instinctively depended on this ethics for its own uplifting, perfection and progress. It is confessedly its only hope.

What shall we say to this scepticism?

3. This instinctive confidence in ethics as the only true path to success has a secret. The teachers of Christianity discovered and expressed this secret. Modern science has abundantly and indisputably confirmed it. The key to the proper solution of all that this theme involves—ethics, business, politics, the practicable, the impracticable—is found in the fact of both Scripture and nature, that human society is a unit. Human society is not an aggregate of human atoms. It is an organism. The universe as a whole, we now know, is not an aggregate of parts, but an organism.

The Divine One, as Scripture and nature teach, inhabits it as its life. The great truth of liberal Christianity is the truth of the divine immanence. In the material universe, because it is an organism, and not an aggregate of parts, every material atom not only serves itself, but necessarily serves all others, and all others necessarily serve it. So in the lesser organism of human society we find the same natural law. The natural function of the human being is not only to serve himself, but also to serve all others. And all others are to serve him. These natural duties may be avoided, it is true, because the human being, unlike the material

atom, has an option; because he has a volition. But his neglect of these duties, from whatever cause, is none the less a war against nature. The unethical, therefore, is everywhere, at all times, in every instance in which its use is permitted, a two-edged sword which, by a necessity of the case, at the same time cuts the one against whom it is wielded, and him who wields it. Does it ever offer, then, a very promising path to success? That human society is an organism, and not an aggregate of human atoms, is exquisitely expressed by the carpenter, the founder of our faith: "That they may be one, even as we are one." His apostle, the tent-maker, puts this solidarity in this manner: "For we are members one of another." Therefore, the ethical relations between us are morally as close and vital as the relations of the physical parts of the human frame. "As we have many members in one body and all members have not the same office, so we, being many, are one body."

Now, suppose that we are unethical in business or politics in order to succeed. What are the consequences? Could any one tell it better than Paul? "Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it." Marcus Aurelius thus puts this truth: "That cannot be good for the bee which is bad for the hive." Emerson varied it a little: "That cannot be good for the hive which is bad for the bee." At one and the same time it works both ways. If the unethical were really practicable, it would disorganize and destroy human society. Just to the extent to which society remains from age to age intact does it demonstrate the unethical to be impracticable. Society is compelled to overthrow the unethical in preponderating degree in

order that itself and its members may live. The individual and society are one, because society is an organism. The man who is unethical in business and politics in order to succeed, is not only unethical against his own moral nature, but against the other part of himself—society. He who cheats or defrauds in business, or corrupts, bribes or falsifies in politics, really cheats, defrauds, corrupts, bribes or falsifies against a natural part of himself—the other and all others. His unethical conduct will not only directly injure others but inevitably react indirectly through those others against himself. Sylvester Judd said: "I had as lief be damned myself as to see another damned." To which the true response is, whether it be religion or business or politics that is in question, one is damned anyhow if another is, and there is no escape. So, in view of the fact that society is an organism, we need a new definition and ideal of success in order to make it accord with this fact. It will be a definition and ideal created, not by fancy, but sternly necessitated by a stubborn law of nature. Success, in order to be real success, must be altruistic as well as individualistic. Two sides are involved always and not only one. Pure selfishness and pure individualism cannot be true business or true politics. We must pull down this old, disgraceful, stained and tattered rag misnamed success, and run up in its place a new flag, which shall proclaim that nothing in this world deserves the name of success which, while it wins the dollar or the party victory and office, does not honor the victor's moral nature, serve the social organism of which he is a vital part, and respect the God who has given us life. According to the standard by which men too often judge success in business and politics it is really but theft in the one

case, under the forms of legitimate exchange, and in the other, fraudulent usurpation of other's rights inside the legal frame, forms and rules of the state. A man does not succeed, but disastrously fails just in proportion to the moral hurt he inflicts on himself, the social hurt he inflicts on society, and the spiritual hurt he causes to God. What Plato so justly asks concerning business may, with equal force, be asked concerning politics: "Is there any one whom it avails to take gold unjustly, if some such thing as the following happens, if, while he is taking the money, he is at the same time subjecting the best part of his nature to the worst?"

And it may as well be added here that in business and politics, truth, honesty, equity and fairness also establish character, which, in the long run, becomes an indispensable and potent factor in all successes. And the power of this factor as a genuine force, instead of a weakness, in business and political life, will be realized the moment we remember that no man loves the unethical in these or in any other places except for his own use. The instant he discovers it in another, even though he be willing to employ it for his own ends, he becomes that other's mortal opponent for life. There is no place for the unethical in this world but in secret corners. Men hate it, their own use of it excepted, like a snake. But truth and honesty surround man's character with a glory, unabashed and unashamed in broad day, and make it a wonderful power for every species of success. It furnishes the confidence—cement which is absolutely necessary, moreover, to give stability and solidity to business and political life. It is its only enduring foundation. This gone, all is gone. These facts alone demonstrate the practicability of the

ethical, and the impracticability of the unethical at all times and in all places. What Phillips Brooks says of the work of the ministry, therefore, is just as true of business and politics. "He is saved from one of the great temptations of the ministry who goes out to his work with the clear and constant certainty, that truth is always strong, no matter how weak it looks, and falsehood is always weak, no matter how strong it looks." The able philosopher, Trendelenberg, clinches the truth I have endeavored to develop under this head when he says: "The state is the universal man in the individual form of a nation. * * * The ethical task of man is to realize the idea of his nature. Man develops his human nature only in the state and in history."

What shall we say to this scepticism?

4. The true nature of gains in business and of triumphs in politics is perfectly compatible with strict ethics in the successes. Take business. There is abundant gain to men in business from the increment of original production, from their own labor, which has created the product, and from the additional advantage of exchange, without fleecing. Or, the gain may be had from service rendered in facilitating exchange. If one produces, or has more of a certain thing than he needs for his own use, he wishes perhaps to exchange it or sell it to his fellow for something else. Each man, by means of such transactions, may be enriched by others in forms of value he cannot himself create, but which he can exchange his own product, means or services for. In a fair exchange of values, one value exactly the equivalent of another, as far as cost of production is concerned, may be far more advantageous to me than the value I give for it, and this latter value far

more advantageous to another than the one he surrenders in exchange to me. So that, though the object of business is profit, the exchange ought to make, and may make, a profit, not off others, but always to others in every transaction. Thus the nature of production and exchange is compatible with profit and with strict ethics on both sides at one and the same time. It will thus steadily build up and enrich all the people in a state.

Take politics. Business is in order to sustain life; politics is in order to govern life well in the state. There are two sides here also, that of the individual citizen, and that of the state as a whole. There ought to be, and there may be an honorable and pure service of the state, which is by far the greater side, and also, at the same time, there may be a personal gratification to him who can serve it well. There is nothing here in the nature of the case incompatible with ethics. In the triumphs of parties, and in the determination of all public laws and policies, reason, truth, light, and fairness may determine the majorities. Webster's definition of politics may be realized: "That part of ethics which has to do with the regulation and government of a nation or state, the protection of the citizens in their rights, with the preservation and improvement of their morals." Politics, then, is not necessarily a game.

This analysis, which discloses the two-fold end of business, viz., the profit of both sides at one and the same time, and the two-fold end of politics, viz., the gratification of the honorable ambition of the individual citizen, and the patriotic and pure service of the state, shows how harmonious with the requirements of ethics the real nature of business and politics is. Men in

business should limit themselves to the fair and honest profits which accrue in the nature of the case from trade, and in politics to majorities obtained, ambitions gratified, and offices won by truth, reason, right, and a good cause. The one is only the path of Christ's industrial righteousness; and the other the fathers' deliberate theory of the republic.

Now let us note for a moment how so-called "practical politics," and exclusive devotion to self have worked in history. Napoleon relied on selfishness in men, and appealed to it to control them, and to attach them to his interests. And as for him, his supreme devotion was not to the state but to himself. But in the long run, not his guns, not his whiskered squadrons, not his selfishness, nor his dependence on self-interest in others could save him from the Nemesis of simple ethics. His fall was as tremendous and irretrievable as his first ascent was high and great. A little before him there was a Washington. Whatever his honorable personal ambitions were, his supreme devotion was to the state. He depended on the pure, the patriotic, the loyal in men, to attach them to himself and his cause. He wrought neither by intrigue nor deceit, but by honesty, frankness, righteousness and truth, and not being necessitated so to do, made not a single dollar of pecuniary gain off his country for eight years of arduous service in war. Refusing all the imperial trappings of royalty, though these were within his reach, he won through self-abnegation, devotion to the nation, moral nobility and pureness, a grand success that has made his name forever a brilliant and imperishable star. Napoleon took the unethical; Washington the ethical path to success. Take another instance. Julius Cæsar adopted the unethical as his path to success. He stood on the banks

of the Rubicon and said: "If I pass this small stream, in what calamities must I involve my country; yet if I do not, I myself am ruined." That was the pure selfishness of it. He took the "practical" method of getting to Rome, and of becoming chief of the state. He crossed the Rubicon and went there with his army. Did he not succeed? Yes, for a moment. But outraged liberty sent twenty-three dagger thrusts into his body, and notwithstanding it had been publicly and officially declared sacred, and a circlet of laurel symboling its inviolability was worn by him, his blood, as he fell in the Senate House, bathed in red streams the base of Pompey's statue. Later, Marcus Aurelius, in the same great Roman state, gave himself nobly to the nation instead of basely to himself, and achieved a most glorious and notable triumph as a prince worthy of imperishable fame.

There is a remarkable illustration nearer home. Abraham Lincoln chose the ethical in politics; Jefferson Davis the unethical as a path of success. The one devoted himself wholly to his country; the other selfishly to himself. The one achieved a magnificent reward and success; the other an everlasting disgrace and inglorious failure. In all these instances we see the natural working out of the ethical and the unethical in politics. What shall we say to this scepticism?

Lastly, the time-element must be used in the measurement of success in order to determine whether it really be success. A momentary or temporary success may not be a real success. "Nothing succeeds like success," it is said. To this we must now add, no success succeeds in the long run that is not strictly moral. If I succeed in knocking a man down, do I not succeed? But if he gets up and knocks me down and keeps me

there, do I really succeed? The time-element must enter before we can give a right answer. We have had a false doctrine of success which has been the ruination of thousands. It is a doctrine which makes it consist in temporary success. Let us not forget that ethics is an eternal Nemesis, and has resolved many an apparent momentary success into actual, eventual failure. The remote, as well as the near consequences of actions are necessary to make up the whole case. A disease must have time to run its course. A lie may work for a short time, but its eventual discomfiture is sure. Bancroft says: "A moral principle is tested by the attempt to reduce it to practice." William M. Tweed succeeded for a time by means of corruption. His was "practical," not "Sunday school politics." He got great power. He got great riches. But he also at last got jailed. He escaped to Spain. But he was confronted with his own photograph the instant he stepped on the Spanish shore. He was brought back, recommitted to Ludlow and died there in disgrace. Can we say that he succeeded? In marked contrast with this man was George Jones, who was offered $5,000,000 for the evidence in his possession which proved the guilt of Tweed, the iniquity of the Tweed "ring," and caused its downfall. He nobly, and to his immortal honor, be it said, refused the money in the interests of justice, and municipal well-being. His worthy act made an eternal success of his life.

The forged decretals were a temporary success. But were they a success in the long run? In the end they were exposed to the immense loss and shame of the church. Was this success?

The reaction of the unethical on society to its vast injury is forcibly illustrated in both business and

politics, at one and the same time, by the institution of slavery at the South. Thousands of men were successfully kidnapped, their toil was successfully enforced. Chains were successfully imposed on millions. But not only was this success a constant social and agricultural curse during its continuance, but the unethical industry at length produced rebellion; came near ruining a nation; cost North and South billions of dollars, more money than the slaves ever earned; cost moreover thousands and thousands of lives, the agony and tears of 8,000,000 homes, the strain of a four years' civil war, and left a blight on soil and on hearts and minds in the land of the orange blossom, that has not yet spent its withering and baneful force. Was this unethical business, this unethical politics, a success, measured by the yard-stick of time?

Take the brilliant but unethical successes of Louis XIV. of France. Under the leadership of Conde, Turenne and Luxembourg his armies won victories abroad which placed France at the head of Europe and filled her rivals with awe. The apparently successful and proud Louis said: "L'etat c'est Moi." But were these real successes? France literally collapsed under the burden of the boasted triumphs and victories. She was precipitated by them into a Revolution which cost her thirty successive years of civil disturbances and wars, thousands of necks severed by the guillotine, throes of national and individual anguish, and a contest for a generation with all Europe. It was the natural effect on society of the brilliant successes, which in the light of the consequences were but splendid failures. Mignet declares: "The wounds of France were hidden by laurels; her groans were drowned in songs of victory. But the fact became evident that the

very successes of despotism exhaust its resources and consume its future ere that future has arrived." Were these, then, real successes? Shall we call that success which destroys the victor?

Lecky, the historian, says, uttering the sentiment and belief so common among men: "The histories of ancient Rome and of not a few modern monarchies abundantly prove that a career of consistent rapacity, ambition, selfishness and fraud may be eminently conducive to national prosperity." Could there be a falser judgment? The case of France refutes it. And when the yard-stick of time is applied to the Roman success itself, after the principles on which it had proceeded had had a sufficient period to work out their natural and legitimate consequences on a scale which was world-wide, what do we see? In the end divisions, dissensions, anarchy, corruption, inanity and rottenness among her debauched and voluptuous people and her 60,000,000 slaves, and inglorious Rome,

> "Rocks in the light wind, and crashes to earth.
> Her blown fragments strewing the place of her birth."

How erroneous is the judgment of men that there are sometimes evil eras and ill circumstances when the ethical in human actions and life is impracticable. It is a dictum utterly unfounded and false. Christian ethics will work far better even among savages than deceit, dishonesty and intrigue. This was abundantly demonstrated in the Quaker dealings with the wild Indians of North America. If ethics is impracticable anywhere as a means of success in business and politics, must it not be among the disciples of the fire-brand, tomahawk and scalping knife? And if ethics will work among such men in business and politics with unmarred success, will it not work anywhere? Bancroft thus

describes the belief of the Quaker: "The nobler instincts of humanity are the same in every age and in every breast. * * * A spiritual unity binds together every member of the human family, and every heart contains an incorruptible seed capable of springing up and producing all that man can know of God and duty and the soul." With such a faith William Penn made a treaty of peace and friendship with the Pennsylvania Indians under the open sky, in the shade of the trees, and without oaths, signatures or seals, but with only the sun, river and forest as witnesses. Of course that treaty was soon violated, because it was "Sunday School politics!" It was made with wild, bloodthirsty, revengeful, cunning savages as one of the parties. The Quakers were the only ones indeed among all the settlers who tried such equity and manliness. The other settlers took the other and more popular course. What was the issue? Bancroft relates: "New England had just terminated a disastrous war of extermination; the Dutch were scarcely ever at peace with the Algonquins; the laws of Maryland refer to Indian hostilities and massacres which extended as far as Richmond. Penn came without arms. He declared his purpose to abstain from violence. He had no message but peace and not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian." So affirms the illustrious historian. And it has been related how in New England, when in the time of the Colonists' wars with the savages, these red men at midnight on their way to burn and slay and scalp, would pause as they passed the Quaker cottages, press their dusky faces against the window panes and peer in to see if the sleepers were there and then pass on leaving them unharmed and in peace. Why? Those sleepers in their relations with the Indians were

believers in and practicers of Christian ethics as the most practicable and the most successful politics and business. If, then, it be true that "a moral principle is tested by the attempt to reduce it to practice," experience in this case, in the midst of the most trying, cruel and evil times, proves the entire superiority of Christian ethics over every other principle as a path to success in the practical relations and affairs of human life. Such an experiment places the doctrine beyond all possibility of successful dispute. It is forever and everywhere true, as Goethe said: "When I cannot be moral my power is gone."

Hall XXXIII, Art Institute, Sept. 14.

XXV.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF UNIVERSALISM TO THE WORLD'S FAITH.

BY JAMES M. PULLMAN, D. D.

IT is with much reluctance that I claim your attention at this late hour. But as you will not let me off, I will follow the example that has been set me, lay aside my written paper, and try to give you its purport briefly.

I select five things as representing the contribution of Universalism to the faith of the world, namely: Faith in man; faith n the essential beneficence of evil; faith in the spiritual and organic unity of the race; faith in the interminableness of man's progress; and faith in a noble and brilliant future for all humanity.

I begin by throwing away certain assumptions. It is not claimed that these large beliefs are the invention or discovery of the church which is represented here today. Universalism adopts and aims to universalize them. Neither is it claimed that essential Universalism

is new. Its modern forms are a development of the old faith in an adequate God who is equal to the solution of His problem without an eternal catastrophe.

Universalism was defeated in the fifth, and again in the sixteenth century; so that the modern Universalist movement is the third attempt in Christian history to introduce these broad and generous faiths into the spiritual culture and life of the world.

I. Faith in Man. It is astonishing how barren the Christian creeds are of any expression of faith in Man —the highest organism in the visible creation. We believe that man is created in the image of God, and is able to know and to do his will. Man is not a worm, a slave, a wreck, but a developing being who began low down, and is on his way up. He is not a ruin, but a mine, full of yet undeveloped riches. His career is not one of restoration simply, but of growth. He is a being of sublime capacities—God's fellow-worker, co-operator and agent, through whom the divine purposes are wrought out on earth. God made the world, but he did not finish it—he set man at that task. God furnishes the forces, the arena, and the constant inspiration; man does the work, and in doing it he develops the one thing that God does not create—character. Man's conquest of himself is exhibited in the development of his language and literature, his laws and government, his morality and humaneness, his organization of society As Martineau says: "The human commonwealth, with its hierarchy of mutual service, its army of tamed passions, its invisible guard of ideal restraints, its traditions of heroism, its hopes of greatness, its sympathy with the moral life of the world, is the highest product of the providence of God, and the most impressive witness to the possibilities of man."

And exactly in parity with man's conquest of himself has been his conquest of nature. He has changed the surface of the earth, and built his homes, temples, and highways everywhere; tamed its fruits and animals to his purposes, moulded its matter to his desires, and trained its forces to his will—making great nature both his trusted master and his willing servant. On this subject I need say no more, since there stands today, almost within sound of my voice, an exhibition, gathered from all quarters of the earth, of man's conquest over nature—a great and shining witness to the splendor of his material achievement. Greater than all that he has done, is the modern man himself, with his growing eagerness to serve humanity, his worship of moral ideals, his visions of the perfected man, his contempt of death, his assurance of a larger career in worlds to come. The new creed of the world, whether written or not—the source of the stir and power of modern life—is faith in man.

II. Faith in the Beneficence of Evil. Evil is the challenger of man's strength. It says: "Rise up and overcome me." Pain is stimulus; arousing man's utmost energy and contrivance to modify or vanquish it. Pain is the spur that overcomes apathy and selfishness. The pain-martyrs are benefactors. The spectacle of their sufferings inspires man to some of his noblest deeds. The stolid indifference of nature to justice and love awakens man to insubordination and rebellion against the cosmic order. For man belongs not to the cosmic but to the ethical order, and is here not to submit to the cruelties of nature, but to resist and overcome them. Resistance to moral evil, too, has unlocked and developed the noblest energies. Man's sturdy and augmenting antagonism to all forms of evil is proof of an essential divineness in his nature.

The retributive forces are beneficent in their discriminating ruthlessness. They demonstrate the moral order. By the return of my deeds upon my head I am made aware that there is somebody in the universe who cares which way I go. The moral nature within me corresponds to the ethical intent of the universe; and all the hells are God's tribute of respect to the powers and freedom of his creatures. Pain is the prolonged birth-pang of higher powers, and the conflict with evil is but the fair price of life and perfected character.

Note, too, the persistence of moral force. Far back in the ages of the fire-mist, there began a struggle for physical order against chaos and darkness. This old earth is scarred all over with the marks of that conflict. Finally, the forces of order triumphed; and on the stable arena thus secured, man appeared, and began the struggle for moral order against natural and moral evil. An immense ethical energy was embodied in a race which did not know how to give up the struggle. Baffled, disappointed, exiled, trampled on, ground to powder, they never gave up; but, holding fast to their inborn faith, they rebuilt again and again their shattered empire. Finally, the iron hand of Rome crushed out their national life, and then the persistent moral energy of this race incarnated itself in one man—Jesus Christ. Him they killed as dead as they could, and buried as securely as they could; but he sprang from his grave, seized the moral sceptre of the world, and has wielded it over sixty generations of earth's strongest peoples. Moral force is persistent and invincible, and evil brings it out. Evil is the challenger and developer of the strongest energies of our race, and in this its function is beneficent.

III. The Organic and Spiritual Unity of the Race. Seven-tenths of the race are not to be dismissed from

our sympathies as children of the devil. The devil is not a creator. All men are of one blood, and it is God's blood that is in them, not the devil's. The religions of the world are all based on the same fundamental verities and essential needs, but with vast accretions due to race differences and local conditions. There is the "rod and candy" religion for child-minded men, and the lofty-motived religion for more developed peoples—alphabet religions and philosophy religions—but one great meaning underruns them all—they are all God's religions, and they mean conformity to the moral order. The select and selfish heaven of a class must be given up. "Heaven's gate is shut to him who comes alone." We are an eternal and indissoluble brotherhood. We cannot resign nor emigrate. The strong must learn to help the weak, the wise the foolish and the good the bad, until all are strong, and wise, and good. A new perception of the structural and essential unity of the race is the core of the new world movement against the preventable evils of life.

IV. The Interminableness of Man's Progress. All human progress—material, intellectual, social—depends upon the degree of moralization. The struggle for advancement is essentially a moral struggle, and it cannot be limited by the physical event of death. The whole moral universe is the arena of this great conflict. "Things in heaven, and things upon the earth, and things under the earth" are implicated in it. The magnificent drama of the conflict of light with darkness cannot be crowded upon this little stage of earth. Man's moral career is not confined to this narrow span of years—it is only begun here. Man's sublime capacities are not exhausted, they are only whetted in this short life. Neither does God deploy all his redemp-

tive forces upon this limited field. Theologians have wrangled over what they call "eschatology"—the doctrine of the last things—the last judgment, the last heaven, the last hell, as though all the moral business of the universe was to be wound up and its accounts closed in a few brief years or centuries. But the atmosphere in which the visions of Dante and Milton crystalized is wholly changed; the new knowledge has shown us the illimitableness of the universe and of life—there are no "last things" in sight! No dogma about the final outcome of things in an illimitable order can longer command interest or belief. Man's progress is interminable. There are no known finalities in the career of a moral being forever living and forever free.

V. The Eternal Hope. The soul of progress has heretofore been "a confident belief in a brilliant and happy future of humanity." Some degree of this great faith has always given energy to man's efforts. Unformulated, obscured, often unconsciously held, always alloyed with the trivial or tremendous creeds of the system-makers,—this eternal hope has, nevertheless, borne humanity onward and upward,—the soul of its power and progress. Modern Universalism is the effort to disengage this soul of the world from its creedal obscuration, trace it to its source in the bosom of God, and apply it to human need and aspiration. Religion is the voice of God in the soul of man, bidding him forever aspire.

We know what a profound gulf separates us from those hidden shores upon which the full fruition of this eternal hope must be realized. But every bright hope is the beginning of its own fulfillment; and every great faith creates the object of its desire. Get the world to believe in a noble future, and it will have a noble future,

—it will begin at once to build it. Make the Universalist hope strong enough, and it will fulfill itself, there will be a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. The creeds of selfishness and despair have had their day and performed their function. The world now needs the larger and more generous faiths—which create the new heart and the new spirit. A gulf of deepest mystery surrounds this island-earth on which we dwell. We must build within ourselves the bridge of faith, which alone can span the wide abyss Let me illustrate what I mean by the figure of the cantilever bridge. A cantilever is a bracket. A cantilever bridge is a double or balanced bracket. When the gulf to be spanned has a reachable bottom, we can build our piers upon it, lay the beams of our bridge over them, and so cross the chasm. Where the gulf is too deep, or the waters too swift for this, we can erect solid towers on both shores, swing our suspension bridge between them, and so cross But the gulf which surrounds us here is unfathomable; it has no reachable bottom, and no visible further shore Our only resource is the cantilever. We must build our solid pier of fact on our own side of the gulf, start our truss-work from the top of that, and then we can build out over the abyss just as far as we build the balancing worth and faith inland in our own souls By all the laws of spirit, the unseen bridge-builder on the further shore will build toward us as far and as fast as we build toward him. The stronger and more out-reaching our hope, the sooner will the junction be formed between man's desires and his Maker's purposes The only Universalism I care anything about, is that which builds the bridge of eternal hope over the gulf of sin and darkness, and makes God accessible to the lost soul and straying feet

of the weakest and worst of men. All creeds are true in proportion to their ethical incitement, but all are false by defect and poverty of hope. The widest expectations of man are too narrow for the beneficent purposes of God. Life is going to yield us more than we can ask or think; but it will yield in proportion as we learn to think and ask great things. Universalism aims to contribute to the world's faith the disposition, to ask and expect more life, the undying energy of an eternal hope which, not content with rescue, reprieve, security alone, seeks and expects nothing less than transformation into the perfect sonship of God.

Hall of Washington, Art Institute, Sept. 15.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.—ADDRESSES AT THE WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

At the opening session of the Parliament of Religions, Hall of Columbus, Art Institute, Monday, Sept. 13, 1893, HARLOW N. HIGINBOTHAM, President of the World's Columbian Exposition, introduced by Hon. Charles C. Bonney, made the following address.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Parliament of Religions of the World's Columbian Exposition: It affords me infinite pleasure to welcome the distinguished gentlemen who compose this august body. It is a matter of satisfaction and pride, Mr. President and gentlemen, that the relations existing between the peoples and the nations of the earth are of such a friendly nature as to make this gathering possible. I have long cherished the hope that nothing would intervene to prevent the full fruition of the labors of your earnest chairman. I apprehend that the fruitage of this Parliament will richly compensate him and the world, and more than justify his efforts and prove the wisdom of his work.

It is a source of satisfaction that to the residents of a new city in a far country should be accorded this great privilege and high honor. The meeting of so many illustrious and learned men under such circumstances evidences the kindly spirit and feeling that exists throughout the world. To me this is the proudest work of our Exposition. There is no man, high or low, learned or unlearned, that will not watch with increasing interest the proceedings of this Parliament. Whatever may be the differences in the religions you represent there is a sense in which we are all alike; there is a common plane on which we are all brothers. We owe our being to conditions that are exactly the same. Our journey through this world is by the same route. We have in common the same senses, hopes, ambitions, joys, and sorrows, and these, to my mind, argue strongly and almost conclusively, a com-

mon destiny. To me there is much satisfaction and pleasure in the fact that we are brought face to face with men that come to us bearing the ripest wisdom of the ages. They come in the friendliest spirit, which I trust will be augmented by their intercourse with us and with each other.

I am hoping, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that your Parliament will prove to be a golden milestone on the highway of civilization; a golden stairway leading up to the tableland of a grander, higher, and more perfect condition, where peace will ever reign and the enginery of war be known no more forever.

President Bonney introduced REV. AUGUSTA J. CHAPIN, D.D., chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Auxiliary, who spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I am strangely moved as I stand here today and attempt to realize what it means that you are here from so many lands, representing so many phases of religious thought and life; and what it means that I am here in the midst of this unique assembly to speak a word for womanhood and to represent woman's part in this great Religious Parliament.

The Parliament of Religions which assembles in this new world and in this new city of the West this morning, is the grandest and most significant convocation that has ever been assembled at the call of religion upon the face of this earth. There are yet to be congresses for the consideration of a multitude of themes which appeal to a learned and limited company, but the great Parliament of Religion appeals to all the people of the civilized world for in all lands all who wear the garb of humanity have inherited from the Infinite Father the same high spiritual nature.

We have all of us, whether rich or poor, whether high or low, of whatever nationality and religious conviction, the same supreme necessities and the same great problem and infinity of love. This old world has rolled on through countless stages and phases of physical progress until it is the home of humanity, and it has, through a process of evolution or growth, reached an era of intellectual and spiritual development when there is "malice toward none and charity toward all," and when, without prejudice, without fear, and in perfect fidelity, we may clasp hands across the chasm of our differences and speed and cheer each other on in the way of all that is good and true.

The world's first Parliament of Religions could not have been called sooner and could not have earlier gathered the religionists of all these lands together. We had to wait for the hour to strike; until steam navigation, the railway and telegraph have brought men near to each other, have leveled the partition walls which had separated them and had made them acquainted with each other.

We had to wait until scholars had broken the way through the wilderness of ignorance, of superstition and of falsehood, and compelled them to respect each other's interest and intelligence. [Applause.] One hundred years ago the world was not ready for this Parliament of Religions. Fifty years ago it could not have been called; and had it been called even one generation ago, it must have lacked the co-operation and the presence in its deliberation of one-half of the religious world.

Woman could not have had a part in it in her own right and person even one generation of men in the past. She could not have participated in it for two reasons: one that her presence would not have been thought of or tolerated; another that she herself was too weak to attempt, too unskilled to have availed herself of, the privilege of speaking for herself had it been extended to her. Few, indeed, were those who a generation ago emphasized the great conception of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and fewer still were they who appreciated the vast religious power and meaning of this conception. Now there are found few who refuse them credence.

I am not an old woman and yet my memory runs back easily to the time when in all the modern world there was not one college or university well equipped which opened its doors to women students; and there was a time when in all the modern world no woman had been ordained, or even acknowledged as a religious teacher or preacher. Now the doors of all are thrown wide open to her both in our own and in many other lands. Women are becoming masters of languages in which the great literatures of the world are written. They are winning the highest honors that the great universities have to bestow. Hundreds have been ordained to speak and to teach this new gospel of freedom which has come to bless the world. We are still in the dawn, the very early dawn, of the new era. Its grand possibilities are all before us. We are assembled in this great Parliament to look for the first time in each other's faces and speak to each other our best and our truest words. I can only add my word of earnest and heartfelt greet-

ing to those who have gone before, and I welcome, you, my brothers, from every land and of many faiths, who have wrought so long, so grandly, and so well, in accordance with the wisdom high heaven has given you. And I welcome you, my sisters, who have come with beating hearts and high hopes and reverent purposes to this great feast to participate, not only in this Parliament, but in the great congresses which are associated with it, to behold not only that an Isabella of Spain had a prophetic vision—she beheld not only a new world, but also a new future—and an emancipated and intelligent womanhood [applause] and a strengthened religion to bless the world. I welcome you all to the fulfillment of her grand vision.

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WORLD'S CONGRESS HEADQUARTERS,
CHICAGO, December, 1892.

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IV.—NOTES TO DR. HANSON'S PAPER: "UNIVERSALISM IN THE FIRST FIVE CENTURIES."

(1) ALVAH HOVEY, The State of the Impenitent Dead, pp. 131–132.

(2) Teachings of the Twelve Apostles, A. D., 120–160; Apostles' Creed, A. D., 250; TERTULLIAN'S creed, A. D., 160; IRENÆUS'S creed, A. D., 180; Nicene Creed, A. D,. 325; see Chancellor SALMON, Dict. Christ. Biog.; HAGENBACH, Text-Book Christ. Doct., I., p. 52: GIESELER, Text-Book I., 80–152, NEANDER, I., 306; MURDOCH'S Mosheim, Inst. Eccl. Hist.; BUNSEN, Hipp. and his Age, II., 95–96; COQUEREL, First Hist. Trans. of Christianity, p. 208; BEECHER, Hist. Doct. Fut. Ret., pp. 198–205; LAMSON, Church First Three Cent., pp. 132–133; ALLIN, Univer. Asserted, p. 121; SOCRATES, Eccl. Hist. I., viii., xviii. xxxvi; HORT, Two Dissertations, pp. 106, 138–147; BALLOU, Anc. Hist. Universalism.

(3) Contra Hær.

(4) Philosophumena.

(5) ROBERTSON, Hist. Christ. Church, I., pp. 38, 39; BURTON, Bampt. Lect.; KAYE'S Tertullian; MOSHEIM'S Inst.; WARBURTON, Divine Legation; LELAND. Necess. of Divine Revelation, vol. III; HEEREN, Researches African Nations, II., 189–199; WILKINSON, Anc. Egyptians, II.. pp. 356–400; GOOD, Book of Nature, p. 338, HARPER'S ed.; POLYBIUS, B. vi; LIVY, Hist. I., 19; STRABO, GEOG. B. I.; and VIRGIL, APOLLODORUS, HESIOD, HERODOTUS, PLUTARCH, DIODORUS SICULUS, etc. Consult also MILMAN'S Gibbon, ch. xxi., note; Universalist Expositor, 1833, p. 423; MURDOCK'S Mosheim, vol. I. p. 39; ENFIELD'S Hist. Philos., B. iv. ch. i.; COQUEREL'S First Hist. Trans. of Christianity, p. 174; MILMAN'S Hist. Christianity, B. II., ch. i.; NEANDER, I., pp. 3, 4; BOHN'S ed., 1890; MOSHEIM, I., cent. i.; CONYBEARE'S Paul, vol. I., chs. xiv, xv.; ENFIELD'S Hist. Philos., Prelim. Obs.; PRIESTLEY, Corruptions of Christianity; Edinb. Review. vol. xxiii,, p. 238; VAUGHAN'S Causes of the Corruption of Christianity, p. 319; TYTLER'S Univ. Hist. B. V., ch. iv.; THAYER'S Hist. Doct. End. Punishment, pp. 192, 193; PITRAT'S Pagan Origin of Partialist Doctrines. p. 173; GIESELER, Ecc. Hist. vol. I.

(6) Antiq. Jews, xviii, i, § 3; Wars, ii. viii., §§ 11–14; HANSON'S Aion-Aionios, pp. 121–125.

(7) HUIDEKOPER'S Christ's Mission to the Underworld; PLUMPTRE'S Spirits in Prison; DIETELMAIER'S Descensu Christi ad Inferos; Universalism Asserted, p. 98; CLEMENT of Alexandria, Strom; II., V.; Col. 1688, Shepherd of Hermas, iii., ix. Tertullian, De Cor. 3; De Monog. x.; EUSEB. Dem. Evan. iv., 12 (MIGNE, vol. xxii.;) ATHANASIUS, De passione et cruce Domine, (MIGNE, vol. xxviii.); ORIGEN on I. Kings, xxviii: 32; DIDYMUS. De Spirit. Sanct. (MIGNE, xxxix); JEROME on Jon., ii: 6; FARRAR'S Early Days of Christianity, ch. vii., pp. 93, 94; ORIGEN, Ag. Cels., II.

(8) UHLHORN, I. iii.; FOXE'S Book of Martyrs I. p., 74; VAUGHAN'S Causes of the Corruption of Christianity, p., 319; CLEM. ALEX., Strom. V. xiv: VI. vi. VII. xvi.; VI. xiv., Acta St. Perpetua; TERTULLIAN, De Monog. 10, De Cor. 3, De Exhort. Cast. 2; PLUMPTRE, Spirits in Prison, (London, 1884) p. 25; NITZSCH Christ. Lehre, § iii; DORNER, Christ. Doct. vol. iv., Eschatology.

(9) GREG., Dial. iv, 29.

(10) HAGENBACH, vol. I; SCHROCH; Arch. USHER; Arch. WAKE, quoted by Canon FARRAR in Mercy and Judgment, pp. 62–64; PLUMPTRE, Spirits in Prison, p., 141; LEE'S Christian Doc. of Prayer; AUGUSTINE, Conf., x. 13.

(11) DE ROSSI'S Subterranean Rome, NORTHCOTE'S Roman Catacombs; WITHROW'S Catacombs; SCOTT'S Catacombs; MAITLAND'S Church in the Catacombs.

(12) RUSKIN'S Bible of Amiens; FARRAR, Lives of the Fathers, Int. 12; ALLEN'S Cont. Christian Thought, pp., 25–27; LAMSON'S Church of the First Three Centuries, Prelim. Chap.; STANLEY'S Hist. East. Ch., pp., xxxvii–xxxviii; COQUEREL, First Hist. Trans. Christianity, p. 180; MARTINEAU'S Hours of Thought, p. 155,

(13) B. V. vv 211–250, 340; B. II., p. 212, edition Opsopœi, Paris, 1667; vv 195–340.

(14) WORDSWORTH'S St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome, p. 144.

(15) Matt. xi: 28; Phil. iv: 4; 1 Pet. i: 8; Matt. xi: 19; Ibid, vi: 28–34.

(16) MATTHEW ARNOLD.

(17) HAWEIS, Conquering Cross, Forewords; CAVE, Lives of Fathers, II. Preface; DE PRESSENSE, Early Years II, ch. iii., p. 233; MILMAN, Latin Christianity; SCHAFF, Hist. Christ. Ch. I., pp. 440, 346–349; ALLEN, Cont. Christian Thought, Int. pp. 13, 39; SHEDD'S Hist. Christ. Doc. II. pp. 42–91.

(18) BIGG'S Christ. Platonists of Alex., Lec. II.; ROBERTSON, Hist. Christ. Ch., I., p. 90. BINGHAM, III., x, 5; NEANDER, Hist. Ch. Ch, ii., p. 227 (BOHN'S ed.); MOSHEIM, Comm. I., p. 263; BUTLER'S Lives of the Saints, VII., pp. 55–59.

(19) Essays: Boston ed., Alexandria and Her Schools; p. 377. See also FARRAR'S Lives of the Fathers, I., pp. 262-263.

(20) Lives of the Fathers, I, p, 262.

(21) Stromata, I.; Canon BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, Dict. Christ. Biog. art. Clem. of Alex.

(22) De Trin. proem. B. III.; Cont. Petiliani B. II.

(23) HIPP. and His Age, I., pp. 237-245.

(24) On I. John,, ii., 2. Comments on "Sed etiam pro toto mundo:" "Proinde universos quidem salvat, sed alios per supplicia convertens, alios autem spontanea, assequentes voluntate, et cum honoris dignitate (Phil. ii., 10) ut omne genu flectatur ei, cælestium, terrestrium et infernorum; hoc est angeli, homines, et animæ quae ante adventum ejus de hac vita migravere temporali."

(25) Strom. VII. xvi.

(26) paideiai.

(27) kolaseis.

(28) timoria.

(29) timoreitai.

(30.) Strom. VI. vi; Pæd. I., viii.

(31) Strom. VI. quoted by NEANDER Hist. Christ. Dogmas, I.. p. 254. Also ibid VII. vi.

(32) Strom. VII. ii.

(33) Cont. Christian Thought, pp. 51-57, 68.

(34) Christian Platonists of Alex., pp. 112, 89, 75, 271.

(35) Martyrs and Apologists, pp. 235-236.

(36) Lect. Ecc. Hist. First and Second Cent., pp. 230-239.

(37) Christ. Hist. First Three Cent. II,, p. 3.

(38) De Usu Patrum, II., 4.

(39) Eternal Hope, Note, p. 158; Lives of the Fathers, I., 288-289; EUSEBIUS Eccl. Hist, ch. vi.

(40) Reference may be made to Strom. VII., xi.; on I John, ii., 2; Strom. VII., xvi; Pæd. I. viii.; Strom. VI., vi.; IV. xxiv.; I.; i.; Pæd. i.. viii. Strom. IV., v,

(41) Cont. Christ. Thought, Int. p. 19.

(42) EUSEBIUS Ecc. Hist. vi.; BUTLER'S Lives of Saints, IV., pp. 224-231.

(43) GIESELER; BUNSEN, Christ and Mankind, I., p, 286; EUSEBIUS Eccl. Hist., VI.; chs. ii., iii., viii.

(44) Hist. Comm. Christ. before Const., II., p. 149.

(45) Hist, Apost. Ch. p. 39, 699.

(46) Christ. Plat. of Alex., pp. 279, 308.

(47) HIPP. and His Age, pp. 285-286.

(48) Mar, and Apol., pp. 326-327, 332-338.

(49) Holy East. Ch., I., p. 38.

(50) Essays, p. 236.

(51) Early Days, xiv., p. 180; Mercy and Judg., p. 298; Lives of Fathers, pp. 316-318.

(52) True Discourse.

(53) katharsin,

(54) aionios.

(55) HAGENBACH, Introduction.

(56) De Prin. I., vi; see also Ibid. II., x. 4; Ag. Cels. IV., xiii: 1.

(57) Ag. Cels. VIII., lxxii; (CROMBIE'S Translation). See also, de Prin, Preface, I., ii.; iv. 1-8; I., vi: 3; II., iii: 5; Selecta in Exodum.

(58) Ag. Cels. VI. xxv.

(59) Ibid. V., xvi.

(60) Ibid. IV. xiii. V. xv., (pur katharsion.) VIII, lxxi

(61) Christ. Platonists of Alex., p. 233.

(62) ORIGEN continually appeals to Scripture as the source of his theology. Among the texts he quotes to prove Universal Salvation are Luke iii: 16: I., Cor. iii: 15; Isa., xiv: 4; xii: 1; xxiv: 22; xlvi: 14-15; Micah. vii: 9; Ezek. xvi: 53-55; Jer. xxv: 1 5-16; Matt. xviii: 30; John x: 16; Rom. xi: 25, 26, 32; I., Pet. iii: 18-21; I Cor. xv: 26, etc.; De Prin, I., vi: 3.

(63) Ag. Cels. VI. xxv. IV. xiii; De Prin. III. v. vii. Ibid. I. vi. Ib. II. viii. 4. I. vi. 3; ii: 3; III., vi: 3; Ag. Cels. VIII,, xxxix, xl.

(64) Christian Platonists of Alexandria.

(65) Hist. Doct. p. 321, Foreign Theol. Lib. Edinburgh, 1883.

(66) Comm. II., pp. 194-195.

(67) Hist. Christ. Ch. I., p. 114.

(68) Vol. II., p. 193.

(69) Lives of Fathers, I., pp. 320, 321.

(70) Hist. Christ. Dogmas, I., pp. 254, 255.

(71) Hist. Christ. Ch. III., pp. 699, 700.

(72) Hipp. and his Age, I., pp. 282, 283.

(73) Christ. Plat. of Alex.

(74) Holy Eastern Church, I., p. 37.

(75) BALLOU, Anc. Hist. Univ. pp. 280, 281; MURDOCK'S Mosheim, I., pp. 410, 411, note; GIESELER, Hist. VI., p. 478. Also, HAGENBACH and NEANDER.

(76) CAVE'S Historia Literaria; LABBEUS, Sacrosancta Conc. Vol. V., p. 685; MURDOCK'S Mosheim I., p. 410; EVAGRIUS, Eccl. Hist. B., iv: c. 38; NICEPHORUS, Eccl. Hist. xvii: 27; MANSI, ix: 395; LANDON'S Manual of Councils, p. 177.

(77) PLUMPTRE'S Spirits in Prison, p. 141; LANDON'S Manual of Councils, p. 177; NEANDER, IV., p. 492; GIESELER, II., 102; BEECHER, Hist. Doct. Fut. Ret. p. 246; Dict. Christ. Biog., art. Eschatology.

(78) GIESELER.

(79) BEECHER, Hist. Doct. Fut. Ret. pp. 178, 189, 190, 219.

(80) NEANDER, Hist. Christ. Ch. Vol. II., p. 676; FARRAR'S Mercy and Judgment, p. 226.

(81) Hist. de la theol. Apost.

(82) Text-book.

(83) Inst. Theol. Christ. II: 199:—Quanto quis altius in eruditione in antiquitate Christiana eminuit, tanto magis spem finiendorum olim, cruciatum aluit atque defendit.

(84) OLSHAUSEN in his Commentaries (I. p. 405, 3d German edition,) declares that this faith has always had in the church, "a deep root in noble minds:" --Das gefuehl aber, welches sich in den Vertheidigern einer *apokatastasis ton panton* (deren es zu aller Zeit viele gab und in unserer Zeit mehr als in irgend einer fruehern) gegen die Lehre von der Endlosigkeit der Strafen der Gottlosen ausspricht mag oft in einem erschlaften sittlich in Bewusstseyn begrundet seyn, doch hat es ohne Zweifel auch eine tiefe Wurzel in edeln Gemuethern;—es ist der ausdruck der Sehnsucht nach vollendeter Harmonie in der Schopfung."

(85) Dict. Christ. Biog. I., pp. 271-272; BUNSEN'S Hip. and his Age. I., pp. 107, 142; MOSHEIM, Com. I., pp. 257, 437; IRENÆUS Ag. Her. I. XXV, § 4; BAUR, Christ. Gnosis, Hist. First Christ. Cent. pp. 236, 237; Ag. Her. I., XXV., Sec. 4.

(86) Matt. v. 46.

(87) Luke xii. 47, 48.

(88) non ad tempus, sed aeterno sunt.

(89) On Eph. 1, 10.; see also Dict. Christ. Biog. II., p. 194; IV., p. 946; THEODORE'S De Creatura; BEECHER, Hist. Doct. Fut. Ret., p. 225.

(90) Omnia ** recapitulavit in Christo quasi quandam compendiosam renovationem et adintegrationem totius faciens creaturæ per eum ** hoc autem in futuro sæculo erit, quando nomines cuncti necnon et rationabiles virtutes ad illum inspiciant, ut fas exigit, et concordiam inter se pacemque firmam obtineant."

(91) Adv. Manich. B. I. ch. 32 (Migne, Vol. xviii., p. 1118.)

(92) aionios.

(93) Dict. Christ Biog. III. p. 780.

(94) Tes Macarias Macrines, and Peri Psuches kai Anastaseos, Migne, xlvi. pp. 959-1000,

(95) panta en pasin.

(96) MORELL'S ed. p. 229, Paris 1688.

(97) Morell's ed. p. 212; Also Dict. Christ. Biog. II. pp. 731, 732; De Orig, Ante-Nic. Library, vol. xx; Invec. in Hier. Lib. I.; Univ. Asserted, p. 111.

(98) p. 154, Oehler's ed., p. 684, vol. II. De An. et Res.

(99) See Beecher, Farrar, and others who allude to this too little known saint whose biography ought to be a Christian classic.

(100) Tract, Filius subjicietur, etc.

(101) Com. on I. Cor. xv: 28, and Peri tou Biou tes Macarias Macrines.

(102) pasa he anthropine phusis.

(103) MIGNE, xlvi. p. 184.

(104) katharseos kolasis

(105) See Univ. Asserted, p. 125; Dict. Christ. Biog. II. p. 767; PLUMPTRE'S Spirits in Prison, pp. 138, 139; MIGNE, xlv. p. 187; NEANDER, Hist. Christ. Dogmas, II. p. 413, 414. See also GREG. NYS. Orat. Catachet. cc. 26, 35; MIGNE. vol. xliv. p. 69; Ibid. xlv. pp 9–106.

(106) Vol. II. Hist. Christ. Ch. p. 93.

(107) KINGSLEY'S Alexandria and her Schools pp. 384, 385. See also, GRIMM'S Life of Michael Angelo, II. 80, 220-222.

(108) Univ. Asserted, p. 148.

(109) Hist. Doct. Fut. Ret. pp. 308 309.

(110) Ibid. pp. 302, 303.

(111) Professor PLUMPTRE, Dict. Christ. Biog. art. Eschatology; Dr. EDWARD BEECHER, Hist. Doct. Fut. Ret. p. 246. ALLIN. Univ. Asserted.

(112) MAX MULLER stated in the course of a paper read at the World's Parliament of Religions in September, 1893: "If we want to be true and honest Christians we must go back to those earliest ante-Nicene authorities, THE TRUE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH."

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